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CONTINENTAL INDIA.

TRAVELLING SKETCHES AND HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS,
ILLUSTRATING THE ANTIQUITY, RELIGION, AND MANNERS OF THE HINDOOS,
THE EXTENT OF BRITISH CONQUESTS,
AND THE PROGRESS OF MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

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BY

J. W. MASSIE, M.R.I.A.

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BOMBAY HARBOUR AND ISLANDS

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

I GRATEFULLY acknowledge the frank and gracious condescension, which has permitted me to dedicate the following sketches descriptive of "Continental India" to your Majesty's acceptance and patronage.

These volumes are designed to develop the condition and character of many millions of Asiatic lineage, subject to the sceptre which a benevolent Providence has placed in your Majesty's hand; and to unfold the treasures and resources of your wide Oriental dominions: the largest over which any European monarch has ever been called to preside. They trace, and, under the influence of Christian principle, attempt to survey, the heroic deeds by which the conquest

of these many lands was achieved, and their possession made an appendage to the British Crown. They also mark the steady progress of a conquest, still more glorious and beneficent, in which already your Majesty has discovered a generous sympathy; and to complete which, the battle of the warrior with confused noise and garments rolled in blood, will not be required.

It will not displease you, Madam, if I anticipate that the triumphs in which the Christian delights, will add to your royal pleasure, as they will contribute to the glory of your Majesty's reign, when the hearts of myriads shall "be made willing in the day of *His* power," by whom "kings reign and princes decree justice." If the people of India shall, by the influence of instruction and the persuasion of wisdom, throw off the thraldom of spiritual slavery and the chains of idolatrous superstition; and, having bowed to Messiah's sceptre, stand up as citizens of Zion, whom the truth has

made free,—your Majesty will rejoice in their devout allegiance, and your Government will enjoy peace in their obedience.

In the SACRED VOLUME, which your Majesty has manifested a desire to see circulated among all your subjects, this promise is made, concerning the Divine Government, by Him who is the Redeemer of mankind: "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, the possession of continued salvation. The fear of Jehovah, this shall be thy treasure." If temporal princes follow the model of this heavenly King, then will *wisdom and knowledge be the stability* of their times. As one of your Majesty's loyal subjects, I therefore hail with gratitude the determination of your Majesty to promote the means of an enlightened and liberal education among the poor of the land, without distinction of creed or party. "*For lack of knowledge the people are destroyed;*" and, while religion without knowledge is a bald superstition,

religious truth teaches its votaries to "fear God and honour the King." Your Majesty's desire to extend the advantages of education among all your people, and to remove every obstruction which would prevent its universality, is the dictate of a wise benevolence, and accords with the judgment of enlightened piety.

I would thankfully ascribe the same benevolent wisdom to the policy zealously pursued by your Majesty's Servants, entrusted with the administration of Government, in British India. They have judiciously given the impulse to the native mind, both to desire and to promote education; they have opened channels and afforded abundant facilities for diffusing knowledge: whereby European literature and Christian truth may become the possession alike of the Hindoo and Mussulman, without distinction of rank, of caste, or of wealth. They have adopted a means, of a character analogous to the rapidity and pervading progress of rail-

road intercourse, by which English literature and science may be acquired by the peasant at the base of the Himalayas, the sikh among the many waters of the Punjab, the brahmin on the banks of the Ganges, and the sepoy who has been trained to arms in the camp. Thus your Majesty's honoured Servants may become the harbingers of the brightest and holiest times, and follow his example, who, as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," prepared the way of the Lord, and made his paths straight.

The prospect which thus opens to the vision of generous philanthropy, presents, under your Majesty's auspices, the people of India combined in sympathy and benevolence, in principle and hopes, with the inhabitants of the British isles. They shall then constitute a united people, enjoying a common literature and the same language as a source of instruction; and, as the citizens of one empire, in the bonds of affectionate allegiance and obedience to the laws and administra-

tion, under the same earthly Sovereign, they shall inherit the same immortality, as heirs together of one faith and in communion through the same blessed Mediator.

I have thus freely, and under the strongest emotions of respect and loyalty, by your Majesty's most gracious permission, expressed my aspirations and the feelings of my own mind; and have the distinguished honour and sincere gratification,

MADAM,

To subscribe myself,

Your Majesty's dutiful Subject,

JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE.

LONDON,
11th November, 1839.

PREFACE.

My Publisher now calls on me for a Prefatory Introduction; and it is an injunction of the Persian poet, which Eastern courtesy enforces—"Tinge the sacred carpet with wine, if the master of the feast orders thee; for he that travels is not ignorant of the ways and manners of banqueting-houses." But what style shall I adopt for a preface? It is a maxim, almost two thousand years old, that "every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and after men have well drunk, then that which is worse." But is it not notorious, that prefaces are not only the last part which is written, but also the last which is read? I fear, therefore, I may do more than *tinge;* I may stain the carpet: and what shall mine host then say?

I have no great marvels to declare. I have not brought home the magic rods of Jannes and

Jambres, possessed myself of the charm of Midas's touch, or discovered the philosopher's stone. I can boast of no wonderful invention. I have not unveiled any long desired mystery of nature, by profound research or shrewd sagacity; or fathomed any depth of science hitherto unexplored. I did not catch the first trace of my treasure at Pompeii, or take possession of it at Herculaneum. Neither Moulavee or Pundit, neither Arabic or Sanscrit scholar, I have no pretext for self-gratification; and why should I come before my readers, exclaiming, "I have found, I have found it?" Mine is no sibylline book, no translation of a far-famed master, from Sanscrit, or revelation of some untold vision from Mohammed's dreams. I bribed no Brahmin to purloin it from a Benares College, or smuggle it from beneath the serpent-coiled pillow of Vishnu. Were Menu the judge, and Mahadeva the assessor, and all the penalties of Brahminical law my portion, I am unconscious of any intrusion upon their mysteries. I pretend not to have deciphered the Zendavesta of Zoroaster; to give a new version of the sacred Vedas, or a parallel exposition of the Greek and Hindoo Mythos. There was no duplicate of the work which I now beg to present to my readers in the Alexandrian

Library; Solomon never saw such a book; nor will a copy of it be found in the Vatican. I do not undertake to relate any thing which others could not as well narrate, or to impart any interest to my page which others cannot give. I am literally, and only, a truth-telling author; and, travelling at an immeasurable distance from Chardin or Heber, from Buchanan or Burnes, I can brag of nothing except my good intentions.

I think India is an extensive, rich, and productive country, and that the people of England do not know so much of the country, of the people, or the resources of Hindostan, as is desirable for their mutual interest, and for the credit of Britons. Different writers have their divers modes of discussion, their various and peculiar styles, and their distinct class of readers, the congenial circles in which each may move. I imagine there is a sphere in which a book, composed in the strain, on the principles, and with the object of CONTINENTAL INDIA, may be accepted, and become profitable. Time will tell whether my anticipations be well founded. I may have failed to provide the kind of work I should recommend, but I have no doubt there is an opening in the reading circles for such a production.

The principal parts of these volumes are the gleanings of personal travel, and the results of local observation. Where historical recollections, allusions, or narrations have been introduced, I have invariably consulted the most original and best authenticated records. The archives of the Asiatic Society; the works of Orme, Wilks, Mill, and Martin; of Jones, Colebrooke, Buchanan, and Ward; of Malcolm, Heber, and Burnes; of Sherar and Caunter; the Ayeen Akbery and Seer Mutuckhareen; Heeren and Raynal, Stevenson and Buckingham, have furnished facts and suggested reflections which I would gratefully acknowledge. By their direction, I have, now and then, led my readers aside to scenes and transactions which I neither explored personally, or witnessed: but my local experience and observation in other and similar proceedings enabled me to judge of their propriety in description, and the justice of their animadversions. Where my observations did not correspond with theirs, I have either marked the discrepancy, or omitted their statements.

My object has been to blend instruction and entertainment; to mingle light reading and practical information; to combine religious principle and historical truth; to season the narrative of

bold and warrior adventures with the discriminating, sober, and faithful strictures of reason and justice. I am not conscious of undue severity; perhaps, I have too often eulogized or spoken in holiday phrase of men, or actions, whose condemnation should have been more marked. Yet I would rather be thus blamed, than deemed censorious and uncharitable. None of the readers for whom I write will condemn me for the extent of the information, or the variety of incident which I have introduced. My personal adventure might have borne a more conspicuous part, had autobiography been intended. But I had another, and, I hope, a more dignified end in view. Still in all that I have written, except the "adventures and conquests," I have been personally interested, in a greater or less degree, even where I have not seemed to introduce myself.

There are many faults, I am conscious, in style, and blemishes in the manner in which I have fulfilled my task: and yet I can only expect my guerdon as it seems deserved, of my critics and judges. I have no right of exemption, and can plead no excuse for a mitiga[illegible] of their sentence. I have sometimes been employed to criticize others, and always sought to do them justice. If

my censors shall applaud, because they may deem my service merits their approbation, I shall indulge the hope that I have not laboured in vain. If they condemn for faults which they may detect and expose, I shall only have this consolation, that I meant well, and aimed after success; which even the wisest among men cannot command. The Sultaun Togrul Ben Erslan, the last of the Seljukian race, in the conflict in which he lost his life, was heard reciting a passage from Ferdousi's Shah-Nameh. "When the dust arose from the approaching army, the cheeks of our heroes turned pale; but I raised my battle-axe, and with a single stroke opened a passage for my troops: my steed raged like a furious elephant, and the plain was agitated like the waves of the Nile."—I quote the words only to assure my readers that I am conscious the loudest vauntings might be the prelude to the darkest misfortunes. I make no implied boast; but await my destiny with unaffected composure.

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CONTINENTAL INDIA.



THE MOUNTAIN PASS IN THE GHAUTS.

THE TRAVELLER AND HIS READER.

Travellers have, in all ages, formed a sort of privileged class; but like most other professions, they have in modern times so multiplied, that the trade is overstocked, and a *traveller's story*, whether a Munchausen or a Trollope, meets with only a

dull market. Competition is, however, the life of commerce; and the spirit of enterprise may be carried into the manufacture of the commodity as well as into the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the foreign pilgrimage. The style and the incidents which diversify the narrative of one writer, though devoid of all literary embellishments, may find favour in quarters in which the more elaborate and finished productions of another have proved unacceptable. Men who think for themselves, and who write as they think, will generally exhibit an independence and individuality of mind which will afford variety, and possess attractions for the rational and reflective reader. If the resources and facilities for informing the inquirer have been increased by enlarged and extending intercourse; if books of travel and works conveying information of foreign countries have accumulated; the appetite for information, and the number of inquirers, have more than kept pace with them. The demand is quite equal to the supply.

"Keep your piece nine years," was a Horatian precept; and to have learned to *blot* is deemed a primary acquisition in a candidate for literary fame. The blotting operation is certainly less irksome when the piece has acquired some age; but a degree, and not a little, of the freshness which a book of miscellaneous observation should possess is in peril by such temporizing calculation: and if we have the mellowed flavour of the full ripe autumn

by the one, we may lose the sparkling and picturesque attractions of a verdant spring, which would have been insured by the other. We should, therefore, be inclined to say, with the Scotch aspirant for a mitre, when requested to choose between Bath and Wells, "baith is best." Where the vivid painting of Nature as present to the eye of the artist, and the first impressions, can be conveyed to the canvass; where the generous enthusiasm of a first-love can be traced; while the grouping and delineation are matured by reflection, and the description is connected by long and intimate acquaintance, and the endearment of an ardent and continued association; the picture may possess both a similitude and a vivacity, which will alike instruct and please. Without being guilty of presumptuous egotism, or a boasting unwarranted by facts, the Writer ventures to introduce himself as having possessed opportunities which, if duly improved, and turned to a just advantage, ought to enable him thus to gratify and inform.

He has travelled by "flood and field;" he has sailed to the torrid regions of Africa, and the sultry climes of Asia; and, as a sojourner in the camp and the garrison, has wandered through the wide solitudes and among the populous cities of the East. As a witness of their gorgeous scenes, and their appalling desolations, he has mingled in the domestic circles and the solemn feasts of Asiatic nations, has visited their rude and rural habitations, and their splendid temples—the pagoda of Brahminism

and the mosque of Islam, and engaged in controversy and in social intercourse with the disciple of the Arabian impostor, and the followers of Brahma, with the votaries of Rome and the sectaries of the Protestant faith. He has associated with the voluntary "exiles of Erin," with the enterprising sons of "the North Countrie," and "the Southern over the Border;" with the republican of America, and the noblesse of old France; with all ranks and conditions—the men of arms and the children of commerce; with those who jealously regarded the progress of the christian faith; and with others who rejoiced to witness and to aid in achieving the triumph of the Cross. If, therefore, from journals, or other aids to memory, he can introduce his reader into occasional intercourse with such characters: if he shall succeed in portraying upon the imaginary canvass the sons of Britain, as they move and mingle in distant climes; or the sable and subtile tribes of the East, as they are admitted to the converse, or the confidence of the European, or are sought after by the christian evangelist: if his attempt shall succeed to present, in vivid and real colours, the motley circumstances of our oriental possessions; and though it be not in "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," but in the artless language of one's own converse with himself, in that diction which may be found in the loose leaves of a long used *porte-feuille;* the reader will give meet audience. If he can add the illustration of facts—those arguments which dare

not be disputed—the number of his friends, who will not deny a hearing, or withhold a patient interview from one who has no desire impertinently to obtrude, will not on that account be diminished.

Fictitious signatures are common; and heterogeneous productions are numerous. Battle scenes, military sketches, tales of the camp and field, have been so often passed on the public, though, perhaps, not from the pen of literary adventurers, yet by authors who at first were great, because unknown, that a natural curiosity may be felt as to the identity of the Traveller, and the credit of the author. It will indulge this curiosity to assure the reader that the writer has officiated in the services of religion on board East India ships, and at the drum-head among British troops in distant colonies; has preached in barracks and cantonments from week to week, and visited the sick and dying soldiers in their quarters and in hospitals; that, by pastoral visits and correspondence, he has watched over their spiritual concerns in remote stations, seeking to counsel and instruct them; and has received the most gratifying proofs of thankfulness and affection. He has, moreover, occupied the judge's bench and the table of the civil magistrate as a place for worship; has preached in the dwelling of the civilian, and to the suite of the ambassador at a Hindoo court; has carried the tidings of the gospel to the prison-house crowded with hundreds of Hindoos, and to the streets of the idolatrous city, to the way-side traveller, the Brahmin

and the Pariah; and has traversed the Peninsula from the Coromandel to the Malabar coasts, from Fort St. George, by the base of the Nielgherries, to the Gulf of Cambay. If to be honoured and rewarded for this work—if to be welcomed and delighted in such exercises, constitute a title—then no further doubt need rest on the appellation herein employed, or the incidents recorded.

He only professes to gather *loose leaves:* it will, therefore, be of little advantage to the reader that the number of the page, or the day of the month, should be quoted; indeed, that is, perhaps, more than could always be done. From the position which he now occupies, and the reflection he is able to cast upon the whole course of a life of vicissitudes, and even perils, he can mark many a chequered scene, many a moving incident and affecting episode, many a dark hour, and "the clouds returning after the rain;" many an impassioned moment, and many a heaving sigh. He can discover pages written when the associations of boyhood and the hopes of vernal youth, now cut down by the scythe of time, or more recently swept away by the ruthless hand of death, came over his soul, unmanning his energies, and absorbing his thoughts—written in solitude and sorrow, with the tear-drop, as it fell, not effaced from the paper;—aye, and it tells more than if volumes had been written at the moment, or than if a tongue had been put into every wound of the bleeding heart. And, as it is only a "stray leaf" which can be promised, there will

occasionally be perceptible a blending of sorrow and joy—the *cloud* and the *bow*—and, it may be neither light nor dark, but a sort of *chiaro-scuro*. Incident may creep into the labyrinth of discussion, and funereal sadness be mingled with life's light dreams; the sober gait and the demure step of cold philosophy, with her bald pate and a plain tunic, may encroach upon the enjoyments of the social board and the merry-makings of ardent friendship: but so is life—and such was the life of him who sits down to trace these recollections of distant wanderings.

How reversed is the tide of events, when India is classed as one of the British colonies, and the fairest portion of Asia is become an appendage to the English crown! Time was when Britain was the habitation of a few rude and scattered savages, and India was the well-peopled, richly fertile, and generally civilized region. The countries of India were known to the merchant and the scholar, to the religionist and the politician, the philosopher and the warrior, when Britain remained a *terra incognita;* a land over which the thick shadow of Cimmerian darkness was cast; to which only the sea-bird had winged its adventurous flight; and toward whose shores the scarcely less daring mariner had not yet steered his bark.

Works less characterised by minute research than elaborate histories—lighter works, serve a useful purpose in the circle of literature. They are the *entertaining* knowledge, by whose attractions the volatile mind is awakened to inquiry, and

settled down to more unwearied application; they are the green meads and verdant landscapes—the sunshine and the shade—which tempt to wholesome exercise, and lead onward through the lengthened journey. But more profound and elaborate productions must be prepared, investigation and study must be employed; and the sober and grave realities of this world must be detailed and understood for the businesses of life, the upholding and welfare of society. Books of travel and voyages of discovery, when read with all the vivacity of youth and with the effervescence of a rich and lively fancy, generally so excite the mind, that in imagination the reader participates in the adventures of the heroes, and shares with them their perils and success. But when added to this, have been personal adventures and wanderings in distant regions, and deliverances from dangers by land and sea, a writer may communicate a more lively interest to his descriptions and narratives of scenes and incidents; the pleasures of memory will thence acquire a force and intensity amidst the reminiscences of former events and the musings of a warm and buoyant imagination. Thus, though our wanderings may have long since ceased, and our connexion with foreign countries at length depends chiefly on the associations of the mind, we may enjoy facilities and resources superior to either the novelist or the gifted and eloquent sons of song.

The traveller, and student of books of travel, derive emotions very different from the feelings

and interests of the merchant, the philosophical inquirer, or the formal annalist: to whom the physical peculiarities and mercantile commodities of the countries respectively under consideration, or the current events of each year, are the matters of research. The gain which may be derived from commercial speculations; the laws of nature, or the phenomena of society, which may be discovered; the lessons of political science, and the principles of national intercourse, which may be deduced and applied from the statistics and history of kingdoms and empires; the battles which have been fought, the conquests which have been made, the laws which have been enacted, and the statesmen which have appeared or passed away; present wide and varied fields for their investigation. But the traveller is spell-bound to the regions of his wandering, the romantic incidents of adventure and discovery, the sweet fields and swelling floods, the hoary remains of ancient time, the ruins of faded greatness, and the illegible fragments of former generations: to such there is full scope for a glowing fancy and fantastic combinations.

Imagine, and what delighted wanderer in the fields of adventure has not imagined, the traveller returned from his toils; and, though *laid up*, as the once tempest-tossed mariner in a haven of rest, in the flitting and chequered reveries of his ever active mind encountering again his perils, recalling the modes of thought, the excitement of passion, the alarm, the tumult and commotion of an awakened

consciousness in the midst of some unforeseen danger, which are all painted in the retina of the memory, and are occasionally subject to the contemplative faculty. But this is not imagination merely; it is reality—the faithful delineations of truth. We picture the wanderer of Nubia, who with one proud step strode across the fountains of the Nile, who saw and told many wonders more than were believed—the ill-used Bruce—who, having risen superior to the morbid sensitiveness which chilling scepticism had created, has composed himself by the glimmering fire under the peaceful and soothing shades of twilight. The aspect of his countenance betokens a mental effort to comprehend and survey at once the recollections which are localized in the regions of memory, and haunt his thoughts in solitude. The iron grey visage becomes deeply furrowed with the traces of anxious reflection, while he summons the visions of departed days. His object is not now to recount their vicissitudes to the family circle, or relate them in familiar strains for the perusal of a correspondent: either process would involve delay, unwelcome to the magical disclosures of an active spirit. It is a longing and selfish struggle that he may grasp and quaff the cup which he has often drunk; that he may unrol, and at a glance review, the exciting scenes, in the drama of which he bore a chief part. Varied, indeed, and mingled must be his emotions. Were they only the fantastic combinations of a fitful and flitting fancy, they might bewilder or entertain the imagination, and leave it

to roam at leisure in the regions of a pleasing reverie. But the convulsive features and the fiery glare of that dark eye, which lightens and flashes from his wan and livid countenance, prove that the visions have assumed so much the character of *vraisemblance*, and every incident has so exactly and spontaneously fallen into its own place upon the extended scroll, that the fantasy has acquired a reality far too great to yield indulgence to the mind; and the magician starts, like Prospero, at the spectres invoked by his own enchantment; or like Saul, who sought refuge in the necromancy of the sorceress of Endor, through which he should consult the deceased seer, he is appalled by the success of his daring ambition, and covers his face to escape from the eye of the prophet, whom he has troubled and brought up.

But again, the mental reverie is peopled and animated with other forms: the shades of entombed thoughts, the spirits of long departed scenes, are re-embodied and clothed, not with the terrors of impending danger, but in the attractive attire of benign and composed security, which invites intercourse and welcomes investigation. His countenance holds up the mirror to philosophy, his application is earnest and composed, and his analysis of mental phenomena is minute and clear; his vicissitudes are brought out, his excited and ardent expectations, his contending emotions of joy and fear, are portrayed; a thousand shadows pass over his reflective visage, in which we may distinguish

the relative influences of past events and their moral bearings,—their new, imperious, and leading impulses are developed,—speculative abstractions, opening vistas of expansive thought, discovering untrodden regions, the rapid excursions and luxurious musings of the mind in such regions, are traced with delight; while the almost creative, the suggestive operation of a broken expression, a fragment of thought, or an unfinished illustration, associated with, or aroused by unexpected coincidences, excites, or implants new mental energies; till at length the doctrines and principles of philosophy constitute the elements of his spiritual being, and become rather a part of himself than the mere reminiscences of his mind. The different sources from which information has been drawn; the diverse agency which contributed to the formation of opinions, prejudices, or predilections, such as the plaintive melody of the maniac's midnight music, the harsh dissonant sounds of idolatrous, or barbaric worship; the discussions with one, the conversations with another, and the correspondence with a third; the once accessible, the now sacred, because sealed, fountains of solace and of joy; all present themselves as having erewhile powerfully cooperated to develop the resources, to cherish the powers, and to animate the affections of the man. They come before his scrutiny at his summons, and marshal themselves in his presence as the members of a well-organized community, associated by common interests and relations; they pass in

review as if memory held the spring of their movements in her control. The well-told and harmonious numbers of the *automaton* music-box do not afford more pleasure by their melodious strains, than does that obedient mechanism of mental vision, by which we can survey and combine the scenes, emotions, and transactions, though remote and long overlooked, in our past history.

In a fainter, yet similar manner, may the reader of travels, if he has eagerly pursued the track of the traveller, be affected; but though not so strong, his impressions and recollections may be more varied; he may recall consecutively and place in order the traveller's tale, his adventures and discoveries, which have engrossed many a lone hour. Travelling and books of travel may be made, as they are calculated, to serve two ends: the former the most pleasing, the latter the most profitable; the first to inform us of other men and countries; the last to expand our own minds, and make us more acquainted with ourselves. The gratification of curiosity has power enough with most men to lead them from home: there is equal alacrity—it is almost a constitutional propensity of the mind—to depart out of itself; while the salutary exercise of analyzing the powers, agitations, and attainments, of the inward man is neglected. How soon the eye is satisfied, and almost wearied, with a glance of itself! how soon, too, will the combination of shades and the expressions thereof be driven from the recollection! So with the eye of the mind—as

a man looking in a glass: he beholdeth himself and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was. It is a happy coincidence if, when we gratify our taste for what is foreign, we see in others what we ought to find in ourselves, but which we have yet to acquire; or discover in them an exemplification of the baneful tendency of those habits which distinguish ourselves, and which, as unsuitable and unworthy garments, we ought to throw aside. Therefore, although that species of travels and researches, which have moral observation for their object, is liable to error, and has many difficulties to overcome, before it can arrive at excellency, it is by such travels and inquiries, conducted on correct principles, that the wanderer will be profited, and the student of his pages benefited and enlightened. It has been conjectured by an eminent essayist that a child, growing up in Switzerland to manhood, would have acquired incomparably more of the cast of his mind from the manners, actions, and events of the next village, though its inhabitants were but his occasional companions, than from all the mountain scenery, the cataracts, and every other circumstance of sublimity or beauty in nature around him. A controversial amateur of natural grandeur might feel disposed to dispute the full amount of the premises, and then deny the conclusion. But it is a remark become almost trite by observation, that children will instantly turn their attention from any of the more ample aspects of nature, however varied or striking,

if human objects present themselves to view in any active manner. Hence the kindred associations and personal attachments of every clime.

It is man then, and not mountains merely,—the developments of moral character, and not only the stratification of rocks, or the classifying of trees, those outward lineaments of unintelligent nature,—the energies of mind; the peculiarities of temperament; the ebullition of passion; the existence and influence of principle; the actions, the sentiments, and the resources of intelligent agents; the associations and enjoyments of life, and the relative influence of moral character; and not simply the cataracts of the mountain stream; the arid plains of a parched land; the produce of soil; the temperature of atmosphere; the elevation of mountains, and the extent of the country; the variety of the landscape; the palaces of the great; the number of the armies and the battles they have won; which will secure improvement to the observer, benefit to those with whom he holds converse, or permanent and increasing interest to the contributions of his pen. The importance which not only the dictates of philosophy, but also the common sense of mankind, have attached to such investigations, warrants two or three further observations and illustrations.

Lord Bacon says, "Travel in the younger sort is a part of education, in the elder a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school and not to travel. It is a strange thing that

in sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it: as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation." The prevalency to which the opinion was entertained that travel was useful, induced the practice, almost constantly pursued by the sons of gentlemen of the olden time, of proceeding to complete their studies by a tour through the Low Countries, and among the seats of learning on the continent; and occasions still the general resort by moderns to other lands, and the interminable succession of tourists and books of travel from the press. But the good to be derived will not be found in the measurement of leagues by the wheels of a *Diligence*, or the calculations on a ship's log: for however grand external objects, a familiarity arising from vicinity and permanence are requisite to engrave the ennobling impressions. Hence the recommendations of the book of a traveller should include more, and something better, than a few weeks in a strange country; rapidity in traversing its regions equal to the speed of the swiftest locomotive machines; a mixture of national prejudice and prepossession, and a corresponding proportion of consummate conceit and dogmatism. We have, somewhere, read of a gentleman sent from France to acquire a knowledge of our common law, who declared himself thoroughly informed on the subject, after remaining precisely two-and-thirty minutes in the Old Bailey. The

evil consequences of his precipitancy would be experienced by himself, and any who trusted in him. A little more reflection might have led him farther, till he should perceive how superficial was his knowledge, and how much of caution was required; that the same expressions, though translated into a common language, are in different countries of so different and variable value; the same actions are excited by such different motives, and produce results so dissimilar, that a judgment of foreign nations founded on rapid observations will almost certainly consist of a mere tissue of ludicrous, unjust, and disgraceful mistakes. Such observations are doubly applicable to the wide regions and multitudinous people of India; the prolix idolatry and obsolete commerce of the Hindoos; the widespread conquests and consolidated empire of Britain in Hindostan; the impediments to the progress and ultimate triumphs of Christianity in India.



THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA.

THE VOYAGER AND HIS COMPANIONS.

In the month of May, 1822, I first received my destination for a foreign land, and instructions to make all possible despatch in the requisite preparations. It may be better here to shade with the veil of obscurity, many relative affections and domestic sympathies which this exciting notification called into operation. Had the grave closed over my ashes, perhaps some kind friend might with less impropriety revive and portray such hallowed scenes. The journal of some of our deceased contemporaries,

whose career was finished among moslem tribes or among savage hordes, and for whom the fond and indulgent friend has performed the office of biographer, does not contain more heart-stirring appeals to the sensibilities and sympathies, than I might be warranted to write over an entombed father, a widowed but generous mother, afflicted kindred and mourning friends. But seeing I live to relate the tale, brevity shall be the soul of wit; since either few would believe, or fewer still would sympathize with the author.

Notwithstanding the haste which was urged, many delays interposed; the winter months had set in before our voyage was commenced; and finally, after six weeks' farther delay, when the Thames had become navigable, the vessel, loosened from the effects of a long protracted frost, began to clear her way down the river. I received a laconic, but summary direction to join the ship's party next day at Gravesend. As a matter almost of course, affection's tear trickled from the eyes, and many farewels were mingled with these warm gushings of the heart, while the more sacred and hallowed relations were bound the firmer by the expression of devotional sympathy and christian converse. We were yet able to embrace the cheerful anticipation, that if no more again permitted to join each other's society on earth, we should meet in a better and in an immutable state. When the parting hour came, the lines of the Brethren's poet had more than once been recited, written, repeated and felt:—

"When shall we three meet again?
When shall we three meet again?
Oft shall glowing love expire,
Oft shall wearied hope retire,
Oft shall death and sorrow reign,
Ere we three shall meet again.

"When in distant lands we sigh,
Parch'd beneath an eastern sky,
Though the deep between us rolls,
Friendship shall unite our souls;
Still, in Fancy's wide domain,
Oft shall we three meet again.

"When the dreams of life are fled,
When its wasted lamp is dead,
When in dark oblivion's shade,
Beauty, wealth, and fame are laid—
Where immortal spirits reign,
There shall we three meet again!"

Though the severing moment had arrived for many, it had not arrived for *one*. Her joys were now to be mine almost exclusively, my sorrows to be hers—and reciprocally were they interchanged. Happy union—bright morning—bow of promise—resplendent vision! But was it a vapour—a gourd? Ah, how transient! it departed. I may be permitted to interweave that leaf hereafter in a cypress wreath, for one whose name is enshrined, and whose memory is embalmed, in the sanctuary of fondest attachment. Strong is the affection which lingers in the fellowship, and finds solace as in the presence of the dear departed shade! Two friends continued to display as well as exercise their affection, after we had torn ourselves from every other, and they "accompanied

us to the ship." It was well they did—for our comfort. We had supposed the vessel still at her moorings, and that she would continue so for some hours; we stayed on shore to take dinner, apprehensive that the ship would not prove so comfortable as a hotel for such purposes. A boat had been engaged to convey us on board. The watermen professed to know precisely where the vessel lay, and steered accordingly; but when they had been toiling and rowing for a long time, the ship remained indiscernible. One vessel was hailed, and another was hailed; but none of them answered to our description.

The midnight hour was now at hand; the stars shone, they sparkled in refulgence upon the water; the river, to my excited imagination, seemed to be swelling to a sea—and who could expect to discover a ship on the wide ocean! "Now," I thought, "our passage is lost; and that is not the worst—how will it appear?—such negligence!" The darkness of my imaginings thickened upon me, but the cheerful presence and assurances of our friends tended to prevent the gloomy forebodings which might have overshadowed the mind, till we reached the vessel; when fears and agitation passed away, as they had all proved unnecessary. For two hours more we lay with our sails unbent. But then the notice was given to all persons going on shore. Our friends left us; and now we felt as if the chain extending to the place from which they came had been snapped and separated, and all personal communication with

home brought to an end. What a sensation this produced! Few, unless those placed in similar circumstances, can realize the sinking back upon one's-self, and the apparent desolation and entire abandonment by all those whose friendship had been cherished by reciprocal endearments, whose counsel had been sought with confidence, and whose presence made one feel that he was not alone. What a solace to possess a beloved associate, whose heart, though poignantly alive to all these severings of kindred ties, almost instinctively, but fondly, turns to her companion with a countenance ready to utter, "*Now*, I have only to live for thee!" Even her tears and emotions, her sorrows and distant relatives, become one's own, and mingle and neutralize any personal and particular causes of excitement.

The night of our embarkation passed quietly enough—no agitation of the water; but the next morning the scene was changed, the wind had arisen and gone quite a-head, and the vessel rolled and pitched without abatement. We had not been able to secure the services of the carpenter, and the sequel was "confusion worse confounded." Added to the usual concomitants of a first week at sea, the loose pieces of furniture in the cabin seemed as if they were in pursuit of each other, while we were unwillingly embroiled in the affray. First, the couch on which we sought shelter went *adrift*, while we were pitched far enough from the centre of gravity: then down toppled a chest of drawers, followed by the medicine chest, the writing desk, and all the

et ceteras of a cabin. A series of such disasters lasted for a week, at the end of which the seamen had succeeded in steering the ship back to Deal. Ten days after our departure from Gravesend, we were visited by a favourable wind, and steered our course.

"We are crowding all sail, and stretching our canvass to the breeze, while the vessel skims along, passing one head-land after another. The coast, studded with towns and villages, presents the busy haunts of our countrymen. A ship at sea is no uncommon sight to them, and they do not flock to the beach to gaze upon the sea monster, with his snow-white wings, his beard of foam, his bellowing sounds, and the rapid and gigantic strides he takes across the rolling wave: it is now an every-day occurrence; and they hasten each one to his merchandise, to his farm, or to his rural sports, leaving that immense walking wonder with its many inhabitants to career upon the wide waters in solitary and unheeded grandeur. And truly, they that go down to the sea in ships, 'these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.' Now we are a little recovered from our confusion, and the vessel more steady in her movements, and by the aid of the carpenter, our cabin in better trim; we are less in fear of evils and accidents, and venture upon the deck. The good people of England, 'who live at home at ease' in their ceiled-houses, with high roofs, spacious halls, numerous apartments, and their thousand conveniences, would marvel to witness how comfortable passengers can make themselves in their

cabin twelve feet square, and something less than six feet between decks, with the prospect of four or five months' permanence in such circumstances; however, so it is, when the mind is conformed to the condition, and any little sacrifices are made, from a principle which recognises Divine claims and duty in all engagements. To read the complaints or implied regrets of some concerning their lot; or, what is more to the point, to look for only a moment into the busy little kingdom within, and detect the conspirings of rebellion there, the murmurings of sedition ready to break out against the lines which have fallen to us; we may be startled, and think of 'Paul a prisoner' bound with a chain on board a vessel, such as they had then to sail in, with such a company, for such a time; and then remember how much he endured, when he filled up in his own 'flesh that which was behind of the affliction of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church.' How many comforts have we which he had not, and how much less than he are we deserving of them.

"Passing through the Dover Straits, Hastings, originally a monument of Danish daring and piracy, but subsequently more celebrated as the scene of Norman invasion and conquest, presents itself to the observing mariner. We look upon its bleached sands and surrounding white cliffs with a mixture of callousness and reflection; but ere a return to simple elements is effected, another and more modern object bursts forth. Its bright rocks

and white beach, and steep cliffs, all perhaps indicated by its original name, attract our notice to the place where the Royal Pavilion is, and where majesty and imperial luxury, and the gay retinue of those who hang on princes' favour, exhibit a splendour more refined than Rome or Babel ever displayed; where the riches of those Indies to which we go, are poured more profusely at the feet of royalty, and the fruits of the East are better known and enjoyed, than they were at the table of Alexander in his farthest invasion of Asiatic regions. Well, we are past Brighton now—the shades of evening are drawing over us, and we are hastening towards the 'Wight,' where our pilot will leave us—the last opportunity, it may be, for many weeks of sending letters to our beloved friends—so to them I shall turn."

When reflecting on the many farewels we gave to the head-lands and fore-lands as we left the shores of our beloved country, the emotions experienced when doing so, and the very inadequate expression in which language can clothe them, I am, when possessed by the passion called Romance, —and who is not so sometimes?—almost ready to regret, that I live to tell the tale—that my journey was not terminated on the banks of the Muddoor, the Cauvery, the Coleroon, the Taptee, or the Nerbudda, when some eloquent friend, perfumed with a spice of sentimentality in his composition, and who had the pen of a ready writer, might have recounted the sorrows felt, the bitter tears, and the often repeated causes of excitement, agitation, and

renewed recollections. Then it is probable I should be honoured with many more—readers, I was about to say, but I mean admirers, than I can now expect; and this simply, because one would feel and grieve, and tell how she or he felt, and so the interest would become epidemic: and the journal of ——— would grow as popular as the Waverley novels *in their own circle.* But the plain truth is, I like to be the narrator, the auto-biographer: it is only a reminiscence, and my sorrow cannot be exceedingly acute now, though I went through the same seas, saw the same coast, and cherished the same fond recollection, and mourned similar separations. How truly sophisticated are many of our *finest* feelings—how subject to contagion—how cautious we should be, that it is not mere sentimentalism which inspires us with energy and develops our resources, when we fancy it is the force of principle, the zeal of love, the inspirations of conscience, and the fear of God.

"We have been out now eleven days from the Land's End, during which we rolled over the big waves of the Bay of Biscay—no very agreeable process for untaught mariners; but since that we have enjoyed more sea-room, quieter waters, and more pleasurable sailing. The cabin company, as well as the ship's crew, have been employed in looking out upon the island of Madeira. It is a rich, fertile spot to behold, and, perhaps, may seem more so to our eyes, which have been gazing upon the waste of waters before us. It appears to be

adorned with large, and so far as we may judge, splendid edifices. The more conspicuous are, we learn, monasteries and ecclesiastical buildings. It was toward evening as we neared the island. I occupied a solitary retreat in the ship's poop, endeavouring, till the grey twilight had settled into the shades of night, to single out the various features of the scene, and ruminating on the nature and extent of that corruption which has spread like a leprosy over the face of Christianity. It was the first territory of a foreign power I had ever seen—it was the first time I looked on convents, monkish convents—on the abodes of Popish indolence and superstition. It was not the rich vines and orange groves, the antique structures of foreign architecture, the sultry vales or their produce, to which my mind recurred; but I thought of the religion which lowered over the people, the apparatus by which they are enthralled, and the cruel guilt of those who make merchandise of the souls of men. That among a population of 64,000, there should be 1300 clergy, as is computed, or one ecclesiastic to fifty souls, of whom the bishop alone has 3000*l.* per annum as his salary; and yet that such ignorance should prevail, that 'an endless number of mountebank tricks' could be played off with approbation, is often characteristic of that system, whose prototype, or mystical symbol, was 'drunken with the blood of souls.' How significant and truly descriptive of the temple of cruelty and injustice, is the chamber in the Franciscan convent

on this island, 'the walls and ceilings of which are completely covered with rows of human skulls and human thigh bones, so arranged that in the obtuse angle made by each pair of the latter, covering each other obliquely, is placed a skull. The only vacant space that appears is in the centre of the side opposite to the door. A figure, probably intended for St. Francis, the patron saint, seems to be intent on trying, in a balance, the comparative weight of a sinner and a saint. A dirty lamp suspended from the ceiling, and just glimmering in the socket, serves dimly to light up this dismal den of skulls.' I have heard it said, that the way to hell is paved with good resolutions; but I fear it may be asserted, that the way to bigoted intolerance is paved with skulls, and that its sanctuary is the spiritual Golgotha! O, when will He come, whose right it is to reign? We are now bearing off from the port of Funchal; may the day soon dawn, when these islands shall be visited by the heralds of the truth, and when the mercantile spirit of Britain shall become subservient to the propagation of that gospel, the clear light of which has made her so great among the nations, and the responsibilities of which are so graciously laid upon her sons and servants."

In the limited circle of a ship's company there is abundant scope for scandal and small talk. Pent up as we were within the compass of a few feet, frequent as our intercourse must be, and oft as our selfish fancies or humours must cross each other's

path, there was required great exercise of prudence, caution, and restraint, if no jarring element interposed, no collision of sentiment occurred, and no strife of words was heard in the little floating sphere: and shall I become the annalist of the occasional bulletins of gossip which may have been issued, whilst a *fever* or a *cold* affected the usual good feeling which prevailed? No, no: let the page of my portfolio lack lustre, rather than that it should be enlivened with the style of reproach. Our dinner company usually consisted of about twenty, of an equal proportion of males to females, and the majority of the latter were married. Of no one of the party shall I attempt a description, and of only one shall I venture a sketch, a true son of Erin, and one of the Roman Church, a merchant and a man of the world. He had travelled, and frequently by sea, for the purpose of commercial speculation; and having realized profitable returns in his previous adventures, he was now attempting it on a larger scale. A principal share of the ship's cargo belonged to him, with which he purposed to establish himself in one of the free British settlements in the East. Generally, he was well informed, he had read much, and observed more; nor was he ignorant of the antiquities, native language, and history of his own country: many portions of the sacred Scriptures, too, were familiar to him, and especially such as were involved in any difficulty, apparent or real. There never was a stagnation in argument or lack

of discussion if he were present; nor did he shun the points of most delicate debate connected with religion, nor exhibit any ill temper after the most ardent controversy. He seemed indued with a patience which was obstinately proof against all assault; his good sense never forsook him, while on all occasions he was the life of the lighter society. If the ladies wanted music, his flute was at hand; and if they called for a dance, he was their musician. If a sickly passenger required the attendance upon deck of a steady companion, he was secure *in equilibrio* from all reeling and motion of the ship; or if his own wife needed help, he was ever at his post. I had never been before in such close intercourse with an enlightened or well-informed member of the Church of Rome. It had previously been to me a perplexing enigma, and difficult of solution, how men of large and well-cultivated, philosophical minds, could attach themselves to, or remain connected with the popish communion, since the Reformation and the spread of vital godliness had thrown such a light upon the gross superstitions, the priestly usurpation, and the debasing influences of priestcraft.

Even in France, after that the demon of persecution had been glutted with the blood of the Huguenots, under the infamous policy of Charles IX., whereby the light of Protestantism in that country was for a time almost extinguished—its influence perverted or annihilated, and the contrast between the two religions, for two they are, rendered im-

perceptible to the people; even then, when human learning, unsanctified philosophy, and the venturous mind of man, pushed their inquiries into the pretensions of religion, as presented under the mysteries of that system, its glaring absurdities were detected; and as its restraints appeared a yoke of tyrannous bondage, the people threw them off. Both laymen and clergy, the gay noblesse, and the interested hierarchy, abbés and priests, as well as the wily philosophers, all mingled in the public renunciation of the religion of their fathers: and since they concluded, most precipitately and presumptuously, that the system which prevailed before them was Christianity, they spurned the authority of Jesus, trampled his word under foot, and brought all the influence of their talent to bear against the ordinances and institutes appointed by high Heaven. They had learned much, but they had not been taught as yet to distinguish the things which differ in the affairs of religion. Such was the fate of Popery in France during her revolutionary career; and although, by subsequent events, the Gallican Church has been restored to her predominancy, it will not be disputed by those acquainted with the state of that country at this day, that a large proportion of the people are the disciples of infidelity, and regardless of the doctrines of Revelation. The consequence is one which might rationally be anticipated; but how are we to account for so many of the English and Irish nobility and gentry, members of the learned

professions, respectable merchants and tradesmen, remaining subject to a spiritual domination so oppressive, and yielding their homage and services to a church so characterised by priestcraft, and which requires and produces such prostration of will and understanding upon a topic the most interesting and animating that can excite the rational mind? It would be a brief, though vague answer to pronounce, that the Romish doctrines are suited to the corruptions of a depraved heart, and to the pride, self-sufficiency, and perverted judgment of a fallen nature; but greater preciseness may be attainable, and is certainly to be desired, for it would be satisfactory, and may be useful.

My friend and fellow-passenger may serve as an illustration and pattern of many others of the same school: and in him there appeared a strong aversion to the humbling doctrines, peculiar to Bible Protestantism, of man's insufficiency, the perversion of the human heart, and the penal culpability of all mankind before God. This, too, was accompanied by an extreme and unwarranted confidence in the moral resources and energies of man; in the meritorious claims of benevolent actions, of the services of devotional formality, and of mere poetical or sentimental excitement, which sensible representations produce. It required no prying curiosity or uncharitable censoriousness to discover an entire absence of all spirituality of mind, the fruit of gracious influence, and of that relish for

divine and devout converse, which is the food of the heaven-born and sanctified soul. There was no concealment of this deficiency, because there was no regret caused by it; since it was a recognition which he had never attained, that the religion of Christ in its essence and influence is purely spiritual, and regulated by principles as a concern of the heart, and a transaction between the creature and his God: indeed, he regarded it as substantially consisting in external forms and services. It would not have been difficult to gather the elements of that oft revived and as oft exploded theory of a personal advent and a Palestinal glory, in his conceptions of a temporal reign and a visible dominion as belonging directly or vicariously to the Head of the church: for he had not learned how to regard the necessarily spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, the moral and relative character of the work which he accomplished—the entire change which he requires in the heart, and the inviolable and intransferable authority which he maintains as Prophet, Priest, and King. And perhaps it was a legitimate progress which I sometimes discovered in our discussions, which indeed I might have anticipated from a carnal mind under no priestly or ghostly restraint,—that, though it was not avowed, and perhaps hardly perceptible to himself, a great degree of scepticism prevailed toward the representations of the Bible, whenever especially they were at war with preconceived opinions, or at variance with present interests,

pleasures, and pursuits. A regard equal to this, or of the same nature, might almost innocently be yielded to creeds and confessions, to the canons of popes, and decretals of councils. And since, by the unregenerate, religion is never accounted a matter of the first importance, and is generally the object of a very callous indifference—since, in too many instances, God is not in all their thoughts, while the things of this world usurp and engross a very large share of their time, their affections and their expectations—it is no strange thing, that the god of this world should succeed in blinding the mind of them that believe not. And hence, it is not such a great marvel as it once appeared to me, that counsellors, statesmen, and philosophers, should be found among the members of the Romish communion.

"We are now sailing before the wind, having entered the 'Trades;' bounding over the surface of the buoyant wave, our progress is rapid, and the ship's motion barely perceptible. The party have all recovered from the oppressive sorrow and the saddening influence of recent separation. The shyness and distance of the suspecting stranger have been exchanged for familiarity and confidence, excited by the interchange of sympathies and kindnesses. Our climate is milder than the south of France, our atmosphere soft as the halcyon breeze; and though laved by the briny waters of the western waves, we are all like the lilies of the field—we toil not, neither do we spin, and yet every one

is well, and some of us gaily dressed; and though far, far at sea, and as improvident from day to day as the fowls of the air, which neither reap nor gather into barns, yet are we each daily and comfortably fed. And what has essentially contributed to a transformation from the woe-begone countenance to the cheerful smile of hilarity, and the brisk and animated converse, is, that our familiarity with old Neptune has engendered, I had almost said, a contempt of his dangers. I mean, that his sportive and freakish up-liftings and down-tossings, and the giant-like and expansive form and continued motion of his countenance, do not now provoke that giddiness of the eye, or excite that agitation of the nerves and other internal organs, which are so unaccountably unpleasant, and make a whole cabin's company look and feel so uncommonly queer. To those, whose marine excursions have extended only from Dover to Calais, from London to Dieppe, or even from Dublin to Bordeaux, and have continued, during all the *pleasure* sail, subject to such qualms as are very obnoxious to the savour or the sound of culinary preparation, it must often appear a puzzle, how four or six months can be endured, unless, like some other aquatics, the passenger can become used to it. But now we find it is almost worth reeling through the Bay of Biscay, to enter at length these regions, where morning, noon, and night, are passed in such serenity. If the queen of the South had presented the phenomenon suited to her regions, corresponding to the magic structure

exhibited by the queen of the North, instead of the icy palace we should have witnessed here a temple worthy of the residence of Hygeia, furnished with ambrosial nectar, and illumined by the genial sun-beam; it would have been an Elysium deserving our admiration; its gates would have been perpetually thronged; and Consumption must have clothed himself with Uriel's garments to have gained access, even as a wayfaring stranger turning in for a night. This is now the season of general enjoyment, and we witness even the labour of the hands which tends to profit; the ladies are knitting, sewing, reading, walking, and gossiping; then, when the sun has gone down, both for amusement and for exercise, the young and the old, the calculating merchant and the light-hearted cadet, the grave and the gay, the man in authority and the man under authority, all join and mingle in the sportive dance. The pale moon looks forth upon the cheerful group with a smile, and lends her light to aid in the revelry—'the Pleiades and Orion' too, and 'Charles's Wain,' seem to twinkle with delight; while silvery Venus, the vesper star, though far in the deep sky, sends her last ray to brighten the scene. Though they be all so busy 'tripping it on the light fantastic toe,' there seems so much innocency in the *present pastime,* that even the ——— has been sitting as a spectator, nor would he utter one jarring or dissonant note."

But say, reader, had not the studious and silent observer of the mirthful recreation also other and

responsible occupations? Sailors are often shut out from sacred ordinances and gospel privileges, when launched upon the waves, tempest-tossed, and steering toward a far distant strand: but should these things be always so? They are too commonly, and far more frequently than is necessary, engaged upon the work of the six days on the seventh; and if unemployed, their attention is not always directed, as it should be, to the events and realities of the christian faith: but should this be the invariable rule when opportunity for another order of things is presented? Certainly not: on board many ships a service is conducted by the captain or purser; and it sometimes occurs, that one of the passengers is inspired with a zealous desire for God's glory and a pious benevolence toward his fellow-men; while chaplains and missionaries are passing and repassing in such numbers, that their services are repeatedly enjoyed. Yes, the voice of prayer is many times offered by the *unvested*, within bounds consecrated alone by the smiles and the sweet breath of heaven, wafted upon the sea-winds, and heard by him who sitteth King of Floods. Pleasing reflection! that at the same hour of the hallowed day, when the tribes are thronging to the house of prayer, on the ocean too, and under many latitudes of the mighty waters, the hour when prayer is wont to be offered is realized; and solemn assemblies, summoned by the sounding bell, are engaged in addressing supplication and praise to "our Father, who is in heaven," through Him

who is the way of access and acceptance. It does not always, though, alas! it may still too often happen, that the faithful messenger of the cross is deserted, and his message spurned, when he stands forth to announce that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, and that through the shedding of his blood is preached the remission of sins.

During the week-days I had free intercourse with the crew for the distribution of tracts and instructive books, and communication of religious knowledge; but on every holy Sabbath, unless when storms prevented, the quarter-deck was furnished and prepared, the passengers were seated to the right and left; and the sailors, cleaned and arrayed in their best, were duly arranged immediately before the capstan. Nor was it without many pleasing symptoms of improvement, that these services were conducted. Emotions, tender and gratifying, often accompanied attention and sobriety during a plain, and at least heartfelt statement of the "grace of God which bringeth salvation." To witness the big tear trickling down the deep furrows of the hoary mariner's cheeks, when the love of God was declared, under the assurance that the word of Jehovah "shall not return unto him void," was felt encouragement enough, not to shun to make manifest the whole counsel of God; and to know that a value was set upon the prayers by those who stood most in need of them, was an excitement always to pray and

not to faint. What positive benefit accrued from these engagements is not our province to know, far less to relate; but the day shall declare, even that day on which the sea shall give up the dead which are in it. Sufficient unto God's servants it is, that he hath said, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

From the mountain's top I have gazed upon the opening day, and watched the streaming heralds issuing from the gorgeous east, and introducing to a darkened world the orient sun, while he appeared as a bridegroom coming forth from his chamber, and rejoicing as a strong man to run a race; and truly splendid have been the rays which emanated as beams of glory from the majestic orb. How insignificant is the pride or pomp of kings, compared with the lustre of the rising sun! Yet, overpowering as I have been wont to consider this display of the great creation, there was something far more softened and inviting in the sun-setting, as at evening he appeared to return to rest upon the bosom of the illuminated ocean. Fleecy clouds hovering onward gradually accumulated toward the gates of the West, where they assumed the form of pillared portals, a deep vestibule for the palace of the sun. There was no mixture of pestilent vapour or corrupted exhalation, it was an assemblage of—

> "Illumin'd shoals that gleam
> Like drifted gold in summer's azure beam."

The wide waves reflected back the gorgeous scenery

as the sun reached the declination of the vaulted canopy "just o'er the verge of day." The clouds, which erewhile shifted and were divided into multitudinous groups, now lay like "piles of gold with burnished peaks;" the whole mass then separated, and presented one broad base as a shining throne within the ethereal tabernacle; around this the lighter and more fantastic forms flitted or assembled—a richly splendid train, as if to wait in all their pomp at the ceremony of their abdicating monarch. The sun broadened by degrees, the air and ocean expanded around him, while he still lingered seated in his radiant car, and surveyed in one moment the regions of his circuit over which he had rolled. There is something in the aspect of a setting sun which approaches nearer to moral excellence than to physical greatness—it is the eye of beaming benevolence moistened with affection, directed toward the sharers of his bounty, which closes gradually till, with one bright glance, he disappears so suddenly and completely, as if he would refuse the votive offerings which a selfish and short-sighted gratitude would dictate:—

> "In calm magnificence the sun declined,
> And left a paradise of clouds behind;
> With pomp of pearl and gold
> The billows in a sea of glory rolled."

"But how inadequate are words to describe that which no pencil can imitate, and no contrivance produce! If, too, the glory of the creature

be so magnificent, what must be the majesty and the power which spake and it was done; which said, 'Let there be light, and there was light!' 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, (the sun in his glory) the moon, and the stars which thou hast ordained—what is man, that thou art mindful of him!' But if even all this glory be but a vapour, an evanescent cloud; if the sun himself shall grow dim with age, shall fail from his place, be wrapped up as a faded garment; if even his greatness only assumes something like moral worth, as he is obedient to the laws of creation, and declares the glory of God; if, too, a description of his glory requires the borrowed rays of moral greatness to confirm his claim to admiration; how desirable are the beauties of holiness, which shall never fade away! how omnipotent should be the demands, how irresistible the invitations of wisdom and truth, which lead into the path that shineth more and more unto the eternal and perfect day! and how inestimable, how precious, with what earnestness and faith should be desired, that robe of glory with which they shall be clothed, who live under the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and which shall render all those who attain it, for ever fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terribly glorious as the hosts with banners!"

"During a lengthened monotony, when every vicissitude is the recurrence of a previous day's incidents, time seems to slacken his pace, and to linger

with him whose mind has not been trained to studious pursuits: and not infrequently it happens, that *idle* communications corrupt good manners, especially in so compact a circle. *Ennui* broods upon the mind, or fruitless speculations occupy the thoughts; and longing desire insinuates itself, directing the affections towards the busy world, from which we are so far distant, and from whose immediate intercourse we are inevitably removed and excluded. This leads the more communicative to discussion, and the more reflective to letter-writing, or melancholy musings: the latter are soon *poised* upon the wings of imagination, and are wafted, swifter far than the fleetest winds, to the dwellings of absent friends, for whom fancy rapidly delineates circumstances, expression, and pleasure; reviving the scenes of other days, or realizing communion with them in kindred engagements, and fondly believing that their thoughts have *wings too*, with which they traverse 'the way of our ship in the midst of the sea.' The communicative, who have employed themselves, perchance, arranging the affairs of the empire, deciding the merit and measures of statesmen, or anticipating the events of future days, or of the countries to which they go, cannot help sighing for more direct and recent intelligence from the world, on whose utmost margin they seem to be cast. Under these auspices we hear —and how soon do we catch the sound from the top-mast head—'A ship in sight!' How opportune the intelligence! The most listless become animated;

the speculatist, the noisy patriot, the home-sick maiden, in one melange of curiosity, start on the *qui vive;* every eye is on the stretch, every aid to the limited compass of human vision is in requisition; spy-glasses, long and short, old and new, good and bad, are all employed; those who have *not* such help, impatiently stand by those who *have,* till they shall have caught a glance of the floating wonder. The question passes from one to another, *Which way is her head?*—it is a doubtful point, and not easily resolved; but at length the experienced mariner, the ship's oracle, pronounces that she is bearing upon us. It remains yet only a conjecture for which port she sails—if to any, even the most distant, of our favoured land: every arrangement is made for immediate telegraphic converse with these our nearest, but altogether unknown neighbours. The Union Jack, that pride of the Englishman's heart, is hoisted—the ship's colours are made ready—her number, all the signs of words—her speaking trumpets, &c. are placed on deck—the boat tackle is made clear, for it is a quiet sea, a gentle breeze, and a fine day, and we have long been separated from other men.

"The vessel, at first only a visible speck upon the farthest horizon, gradually becomes more discernible, and expands into shape and magnitude; the white sails glisten to the sun, the flag floats in the breeze, and, to the joy of every heart, the discovery is promulgated that she carries British colours, and is undoubtedly bound for the shores

of our loved isle; and there can be no hesitation in preparing communication for sweet home. She is yet probably five or six miles distant, and we are only sailing three or four knots an hour; it will be some time before the vessels can be alongside each other. There is an evident strife in the bosom of some of our party, whether to forego enjoying the magnificent sight, for the pleasure of making a further addition to the already folded letter, or writing another letter to some still unnoticed friend. The ladies are all busy at their bureau; they linger not; *their* 'heart, accustomed to cling like a tendril,' or still *untravelled*, turns to the endeared affections of a parental roof. Nor are they alone influenced by these recollections: the stronger nerve, the firmer heart of boastful man are chastened into emotion by this unexpected opportunity of soothing the mind, and relieving the anxieties, and cheering the heart, of a fond mother or a tender friend; and there is more than the heaving of a sigh; the dewy drop bursting from the eye-lid is hastily brushed away, when the farewell is again written, and the assurances of affection are expressed. But this is no season for indulging these reflections—the notes of preparation on deck remind that time is most precious at this moment; and one after another conveys his messengers of kindness to distant friends into the captain's cabin. Now the two ships have a full view of each other: the deck of both is thronged with the motley group of young and old, male and female; and the eye of *critical*

inspection can perceive a change of costume; the white or undress jacket is displaced by the full-dress coat, the golden epaulets, and the gilded spurs, as if a levee were now to be held in the hall of Neptune. Every appearance of a *gala* day is discoverable; excitement and joy sparkle in the countenance; and the light laugh, and unrestrained tones of pleasure, burst forth from the grave and the gay.

"A fourteen-hundred-ton ship, equal to a full-sized man-of-war, at sea, is no mean spectacle sailing before the wind; it is calculated to inspire man with pride, that such majesty should be associated with utility and comfort, by human skill and labour. The masts are like tall pines, rearing their lofty heads to pierce and sweep the clouds; while to their highest points the crowded canvas is stretched and bent to either side, as expanded wings poised upon the winds.

"Broad to the sky she turns her fearless sail,
And soft on ocean's lap lies down to rest:
Thus, free as clouds the liquid ether sweep,
The white-winged vessel scoured the unbounded deep;
From clime to clime the wanderer loves to roam,
The waves her heritage, the world her home."

"Now we are within the lines of converse—the sails are clued up—from each ship there is a mutual anxiety and readiness to offer the salutation of kindness, to inquire of each other's welfare, the port from which they sail, and whither they are bound. After preliminary inquiries and congratu-

lations, a boat from each vessel is lowered upon the fathomless abyss; the waters which once were broken into a thousand waves, and rose tumultuously in mountainous ridges to the high heavens, now bear upon a glassy surface the light and fragile skiff, as if they were on an inland lake. The tidings from home are eagerly sought, and the news from the foreign ports are given in return; letters for home and abroad are delivered and received; the observation of solar declination and of lunar altitude are compared; the memorable notes from the 'log' are communicated, and an interchange of eastern luxuries, for the more homely and not less useful produce of western regions, is made; two or three visitors from each ship honour the respective companies as guests at dinner, for the purpose of mutual information. Who would pronounce man an unsocial animal, after this display of hospitality and converse?—Now the sun has approached his going down; the sails are bending; a few more packets are handed over from each ship; the visitors retire to their several walking domiciles; the last salutation is given; both vessels are under weigh, and the same wind, by the nautical management of our navigators, conveys the ships on opposite courses; and as the distance between us increases, we are forcibly reminded of the metaphor by which the sublime and inspired poet illustrates the transition of our days—'they are passed away as the swift ships—the ships of desire—as the eagle that hasteth to the prey.' And such is life, and

such the intercourse of the dearest friends! thus evanescent are all pleasures which arise from things seen and temporal, and are composed of vapour, air, and sunshine; unstable as the wave, fluctuating as the wind, as a ship that passeth over the waves!"

It might prove an interesting inquiry, in how many more cases solitude has been sought than it has been enjoyed; and how far the number of those who have read, comes short of those who have possessed the Anglicised German classic, "Zimmerman on Solitude." How many laudatory strains have been poured forth in praise of retirement, it would not be easy to reckon, nor is it important to know. It was not a symptom of a healthful state of mind, or of a prosperous state of society, when monkish and ascetic seclusion was panted after by men claiming the characteristic of devotion, and when the hermit's cell in the lone wilderness was deemed the only or the best sanctuary for heavenly contemplation. And had our poet obtained the reality of his dream, "A lodge in some vast wilderness, remote from war's alarms;" disgusted as he justly was with human delinquency, and diseased as no doubt was his mind, he would soon have experienced, that cessation from reciprocal duties does not insure happiness; and that being set in solitary places will not give peace to the troubled mind. It could only be during the night of intellectual barbarism, that monasteries, thronged with recluses, were established in the

western world; as it was only among the superstitious and ignorant enthusiasts of the East, that the custom of mutilating their bodies and besmearing their faces so long prevailed. But gloomy and morose as was the mind of the Egyptian Therapeutæ among the mountains of Nitria, and fanatical and mystical as was the Monachism of the Eremites and Anchorets of Syria,—there is a scripture rule, which cannot be duly observed without advantage, "Commune with your own heart — Examine yourselves — Prove your own selves—Let a man examine himself." To comply with these, requires abstraction from mingled society; nor is such occasional separation from the converse of fellow-men incompatible with our most social propensities. With all the natural love of society, and the delight which a refined mind will experience in the "feast of reason and the flow of soul;" still, the hour of loneliness, and the undisturbed retreat, will be relished, and sometimes sighed for, by him who seeks an acquaintance with himself, and communion with the Father of spirits: neither will such employment render him less fit for returning to profitable and social intercourse. What discoveries may thus be made both in philosophy and morals, of man himself and of his God, the Horæ Solitariæ of many worthies would tell, were we admitted to the perusal.

In some situations, however, peculiar difficulties exhibit barriers apparently insuperable, and require patience and discretion to obviate them. On a

primary and hasty consideration of first appearances, it will hardly be anticipated that the limited range of a ship, on deck, or in the cabin, will afford the requisite facilities for retirement and meditation. This is nevertheless an erroneous and precipitate conclusion.

"How agreeable, after all the passions and emotions which have been excited and agitated during the day are hushed—after the stir and animation of the company have subsided—after the evening walk has terminated, and the cheerful *coterie* have distributed themselves each one to her and his cabin—to sally forth for a midnight musing—an hour of excursive and elevated meditation! How instructive to dive into the depths of the human heart; to revive faded visions; to reinstate the mind in her intellectual sovereignty; to summon back her legions of fugitive thoughts, and subject them to her revising scrutiny! And how profitable to soar into the lofty heights of divine knowledge and fellowship, and to anticipate the relationship, the engagements, and the feelings of an eternally glorious exaltation and blessedness! The whole company are mute; even the buzz of confidential converse is silenced; and only the officer of the watch, solitarily and unobtrusively employed in his own reflections, and his eye carefully directed to the movement of the vessel, or the course of the wind, perambulating his limited bounds upon the quarter-deck. There is an expansion of the mind corresponding to and borrowed

from the wide circle formed by the almost boundless and unbroken horizon. There is an exaltation and a dignity of thought derived from the boundlessness of the glittering canopy: there is a heaven-attracting influence imparted by the glory, the order, and the subserviency of those stars which shall shine for ever: and there is a humiliation of soul, a gratitude of heart, and a joy of hope, inspired by the connexion which is sustained by man with those upper and brighter worlds. 'What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou dost visit him!' Man was made only 'a little lower than the angels;' and, as a heaven-appointed sovereign, was 'crowned with glory and honour:' but alas! how emphatically hath the crown fallen from his head; how abject has the monarch of this inferior creation brought himself; and how degraded from his pristine excellency has he become! Yet, because a wise and good God regarded him in compassion—provided for his restoration and re-establishment in honour, and for his attaining even more than was lost by his fall; and revealed that this should be by a sacrifice for sin—a sacrifice of infinite value, whereby the sinner may be justified before his God—justified freely from all things; therefore there is hope—there is a way of access made known unto glory, honour, immortality, and eternal life. It is denominated 'an high way, the way, and the way of righteousness; the unclean cannot pass through it, but it is the path of the just, which shines more

and more unto the perfect day;' and therefore those who walk therein may take courage; they are directed to look up, for their salvation draweth nigh:"

"For see on death's bewildering wave
The rainbow Hope arise;
A bridge of glory o'er the grave,
That bends beyond the skies!
From earth to heaven it swells and shines—
The pledge of bliss to man:
Time with eternity combines,
And grasps them in a span."

"There is not a spot of the whole heavens on which the eye can remain fixed, where we do not discover the light of some distant luminary, showing forth the glory of the Great Creator, as if the furthest firmament were only a paved work of sapphire stones beneath the feet of eternal majesty; and, as it were, the body of heaven in his clearness. A most rich and splendid pavement are these heavens for the palace of the Great King; but God's throne is above the firmament. How glorious then is He, who being clothed with light as with a garment, only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto! What a change must take place in our visual perceptions, before we are fit to dwell in the midst of such glory! No doubt there is a substantial reality, suited both to the nature of spirits, and to the capacities of glorified bodies, in the representations of that glorious high throne which hath been from

the beginning, as well as in the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But there is also in the application of such terms a moral excellency portrayed, which in spiritual things synonymises with material representation; and parallel to the light of his glory, is the holiness of his nature; and corresponding with the spotless splendour which he hath created, is the righteousness of his spiritual administration. If, then, a change so decided must be effected on the human body before it can dwell in the light of his presence, how total must be the moral transformation in our nature and character, ere we can become the objects of his holy complacency, or hold immediate, joyful and uninterrupted fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! Therefore he saith, "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" and "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Hence it becomes us to acquaint ourselves with our God, and to seek those seasons of contemplation which he hath promised to honour with his presence and his Spirit; to enter into the closet, and shut the door behind us, and pray to our Father who seeth in secret; to withdraw from the very attachments of domestic intercourse, or at least rise superior to them; to offer unto God the sacrifice which he requires—the soul, body, and spirit. Then, however separated and abstracted from the world—or cast off and deserted by friends or lovers, we shall be enabled to sing with devoutest gratitude and joy,—

" Is not his voice in evening's gale?
Beams not with him the star so pale?
Is there a thought can come, or fly,
Unnoticed by his watchful eye?
Each fluttering hope, each anxious fear,
Each lonely sigh, each silent tear,
To mine Almighty Friend is known,
And say'st thou 'I am all alone?'"

"Such have been my meditations; but shall I record no memento of sympathy or concern for that youthful mariner, who as 'the lonely watch patrols the deck;' whose prospects of eternity are so obscure, and whose mind is so perverted from the divine purpose of its creation? Because he exhibited a roving propensity, and a disinclination to the engagements of study or of the office, after a few feeble and ineffectual struggles by his natural guardians, he was early in life thrown upon the wide world, as a ship without a compass or a chart, and committed to the doubtful discretion and volatile direction of a sea captain, whose only recommendations were, that he had a ship, was a distant relative, and might have the opportunity of training the youth as an officer, and of elevating him to that capacity.—If we sow the seeds of hemlock in a congenial soil, can we expect any other than a crop of hemlock? but how sad and dreary are the consequences to him, whose cup is filled with the poisonous juice! The heart of every man is sceptically inclined; it desires not the knowledge of God or of his ways: though the dictates of his conscience, *that heaven-descended monitor*, if followed

would direct to an opposite course, a course of which the judgment must approve. A thousand deceitful forms will this scepticism assume, but still, if closely inspected, the family likeness will be discovered. In a community where the truths of Christianity are familiar, and her observances regarded, there is a general influence that is peculiar to that system, and which keeps infidelity in check, subdues the tone of her hostility, and constrains her to the adoption of another mode of warfare.

"The language of Canaan is employed; even the *shibboleth* of a tribe is acquired, the form of godliness is assumed, and the enemy transforms herself into an angel of light: then the wells are poisoned, the trumpet gives an uncertain sound; or the watchmen mistake their friends for their enemies, exhaust themselves during the day in a mere logomachy, and when the night cometh, the people wander each one after uncertain lights, till they find themselves in quagmires or on the brink of destruction. Still there is much profession—there are many prayers—there is a moral restraint, a religious decorum, a cold orthodoxy, a strict adherence to the *formulæ*, a great zeal for the church as by law established; and nothing more, at the very most, than a *suspicion* insinuated, that *such* a passage is not correctly translated, or it should not be *generally* read, or it is a pity it is in the Bible; and a hint is dropped about certain zealous and extraordinary Christians, that they do not appear to be guided by the prudent maxims of the wise

man who said, 'Be not righteous overmuch.' Such is the mask under which the general influence of Christianity constrains her enemies to appear; and such the yoke to which she compels them to submit where she has asserted her native dignity. But the isolated mariner puts on a bolder front, and is less restrained by the opinion of man, and is more reckless of consequences. There is an air of frankness and of ingenuous candour, on which the sailor reckons much: 'Thank God,' he says, 'I am no hypocrite.' It is true he is in general an unsophisticated character; his habits are formed from the society to which he is limited; and his visits homeward may be described as those of a *rara avis in terris*—every thing has become a stranger to him, and he is a stranger to every one: even his fond mother looks upon her son Jack, as he rolls before the wind, with a mingled feeling of surprise and affection, accompanied by a suspension of her very faculties and parental influence. He returns again to his long voyage and the distant clime, exposed to passion as well as to storms; habituated to the loud bellowing oath which rises above even the howlings of the surly blast, as much as he is to the voice of a superior; separated from the soothing and instructive communion of the house of God, as much as from the softening and improving intercourse of domestic life; while his only employment of a literary nature consists in comparing his charts, taking the time, and entering the results in his log-book, the ship's journal. The division

of his time, too—four hours on watch, and four hours below—affords not any great facilities for mental improvement or religious attainment, nor does it present any great inducement to employ the opportunities which are afforded. Hence it is not difficult to account for the frequent avowal and baneful effects of infidelity among seamen, and the levity with which they treat religion when its realities are urged upon them personally.

"The seaman is, nevertheless, a creature of many and lively sensibilities: he has a heart to feel for other's woes; he is faithful to his trust; indefatigable in the discharge of his present duties: exposed to all weathers, under every climate, and at each hour of the day, his bosom is bared to every danger, and his feet are ever ready to carry him into the most perilous position. In the calm hour of his midnight watch, while sleep is banished from his eyes—while by his care the whole company repose in comparative security, and the ship, the messenger of commerce, speeds her way over the main,—his mind is not inactive, nor are his thoughts bounded by the limits of his present duty. Friends and kindred—the associate of early boyhood—the dreams and visions of ardent youth, are present to his mind. He pictures in livelier colours than reality itself, the features of intense interest which mark the countenance of a beloved parent, doting over the remembrance of her absent child: by the power of imagination he feels, more fervidly than ever he felt in fact, the burning lip of

fond affection, and the big rolling tear of friendship's ardour: he dwells upon the last look, he hears again the last expression; and he is only recalled from his reverie to the realities of his present condition, by the sound of the ship's bell, which reminds him of the time to call the watch; and he finds himself pausing on the quarter-deck, to look back upon the waving handkerchief, the signal of a sister's abiding anxiety, given as he left the home of his parents:—

"Night is the time to watch
On ocean's dark expanse,
To hail the Pleiades, or catch
The full moon's earliest glance—
That brings into the home-sick mind,
All we have lov'd and left behind."

"How soon may the brightest visions be obscured, and the fairest sky overcast! From serene weather, a favourable wind, and the lambent wave, there is often but a brief hour, a transient interval of gathering clouds and veering blasts, as a prelude to the darkened heavens, the tempestuous gale, and destructive storm. We have now passed through the longitudinal meridian, and within three degrees of the latitude of the most southern promontory of Africa, once named Cabo Tormentoso, but now better known as the Cape of Good Hope. I have read, and often imagined descriptions of the stormy Cape; but reading and fancy have never reached the reality of what we recently experienced. It is not every season of the year, nor

every year at the same season, that such tremendous exhibitions of the discordant and agitated elements are witnessed; nor is it when dependent alone for security upon the skill of the mariner, and the strength and fitness of the best built ship, that I would desire to watch the motions of those tumultuous seas and threatening winds; for surely the strength of oak is mere fragility itself, and nautical skill is boastful vanity in such circumstances. But when, after the experience of three centuries and a half, and the improvements of navigation, we were so baffled, what must it have been to the first discoverers, who were exposed in these unknown seas to a succession of such violent tempests; and to what can we ascribe it, that they braved all the dangers, and succeeded in reaching the Indian Ocean, and sailing to its peaceful strand? To what, but the purpose of Him who meteth the waters in the hollow of his hand, as a drop in a bucket, and who holdeth the winds in his fist! He was thus opening a passage for every ship which is—

> "Charged with a freight transcending in its worth
> The gems of India, nature's rarest birth;
> Which flies like Gabriel on the Lord's commands,
> The herald of God's love to Pagan lands."

It is happily now no idle dream of the poet to apostrophize "the missionary ship;" for on this, as well as on other seas, the gallant bark has unfurled her banner as the *Herald of Peace,* and set her sails

to catch the panting breeze, which shall waft her precious cargo to the most distant lands. Thus sings the poet—

" How gallantly thy pinions kiss
The sportive gales which waft thee on;
Which seem to whisper songs of bliss
In solitudes so lone!
Away, away, thou beauteous thing:
No tempest o'er thy path be driven!
Away, thou ark of peace, and bring
A world estranged to heaven.

" Go, and may Heaven be with thee while
Thou journeyest o'er thy lonely road:
Go, and to every land and isle
Proclaim the word of God.
And you, ye frail and erring throng,
Awake, and be no longer dumb!
Rise! and pour forth a joyful song,
For now the light is come."

" Our storm continued during an entire week, and came on in shorter time than we should consume in describing its approach. The face of the sky gradually, but very quickly, assumed a rugged aspect, with cloud heaped on cloud; the winds increased in strength till they became a howling blast; the waters of the deep had not yet become violently agitated — the furious wind seemed to repress their rising, and chafed only their surface into foam; but as the storm advanced, the waves became billows, and the billows mountains, till the clouds and mountainous surges mingled together. Looking around and before us, we saw huge waves

which impended over us, as if ready to engulf the ship, and through which it seemed impossible to pass, while we were enclosed in a deep valley. 'For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves: they mount up to the heavens, they go down again to the depths.' I stood upon the quarter-deck when the storm approached. We had been enjoying a favourable wind, and all sail was set to the highest point, so that we had much to take in when the weather so suddenly changed. All hands, however, were called; both *watches* were employed; and the farthest yards were manned, *reefing* the larger, and *cluing* up the smaller sails. The alacrity with which every one hastened to his post, and almost strove who should first reach the most hazardous part of their duty—each officer directing the men of his particular department; the creaking of the cordage, the flapping of the sails, the howling of the wind, the scowl of the whole heaven, the vivid and forked lightning, and the roaring thunder, filled me, not with alarm, but with a feeling far beyond fear of personal danger. I looked to the utmost and to the highest yards, and saw my fellow-men at such a distance as to be diminished to the size of an inferior race, suspended over the deep by the most imperceptible and insecure tenure; while the elements raged round them—and a vibrating, elevating, almost electric motion passed through my whole system. How great is God! and with what self-command

has he endued the creature man! A moral agency in a position so perilous, braving the war of the boisterous elements, gave me the sensation of sublimity without the philosophy of abstraction, though I could not but reflect afterwards on the peculiar feeling with which I had witnessed the whole proceeding.

"The vessel, after being trimmed for the gale, yielded to become the sport of the storm; alternately ascending and descending, as, borne on by the troubled waters, sometimes she apparently laboured to scale the wall of waves before her; then again she reeled round from the unstable heap, staggering as a drunken man; now she drove forward, as if she would shoot into the secret chambers of the deep, while the waves swept over her deck, and occasionally from each side they met, and lashed each other into foam.

"'In this part of the voyage,' says Osorius,* 'the heroism of Gama was greatly displayed. The waves swelled like mountains in height; the ships now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by gulfy whirlpools to the bed of the ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the pilot's voice could seldom be heard; and a dismal, almost continual darkness added all its horrors. Sometimes the storm drove them southward; at other times they were obliged to

* The enlightened, liberal, and patriotic bishop of Sylves, contemporary of Camoens, the author of the Lusiad.

stand on the tack and yield to its fury, preserving what they had gained with the greatest difficulty.'"

> "With such mad seas the daring Gama fought
> For many a day and many a dreadful night;
> Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,
> By bold ambition led."

And yet it is surprising in how brief a period, even the most delicate will become habituated, or almost reconciled, to the violence and tumult of a raging sea. On the first day we had but a small party to dinner, and still fewer on the second day; while those who came were not able to sit—they might rather be said to hold by the table. It was a vain effort for the cook to attempt more than a *sea pie*—something as miscellaneous as the Yorkshire dish of a similar denomination; and of this, while each one endeavoured to take his share, we always had enough; during which many a serio-comic attitude was exhibited, when, by the sudden roll of the ship, the plate and its contents were tossed to the other side, or under the table; and the consumer, in pursuing his prey, was brought to the floor in a posture of humility not always consonant with the character or disposition of the prostrate sufferers. But notwithstanding the cold, the heaving of the ship, and the gloom which prevailed without, our company again gathered, and various were the devices employed to secure a sitting posture. I occasionally visited the deck during the storm; not to walk, for that would be a difficult task, but that I might gaze upon the troubled sea

and behold God's wonders in the deep, and learn the feeble frailty of man. Above, below, and around, nothing but the face of storms! and these are but a part of his ways; and how small a part compared with what shall be revealed at that season of wrath which shall overtake the wicked and consume them, when "he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, as the portion of their cup!" How all-sufficient is he to take vengeance on them that know not him, and obey not his gospel!

"From the northern region of the globe in which our own Ultima Thule is situated, we have sailed to the west, to the east, and to the south—over the Tropic of Cancer into the midst of the Torrid Zone; we have traversed that section of the world surrendered by the ancient geographer to fire, and to such animals only as could endure that element; we have loitered, too long for our pleasure, upon the bisecting line which distinguishes the southern from the northern hemisphere; and here we have found that the ancients had not turned far aside from the truth in their allocations of the fiery regions.—Not a breath from the four corners of heaven would the winds blow upon us for a succession of days; till the faces of those who dared to encounter the radiance of the sun, were either ready to peel their skin, or present a second edition of the nut-brown maid. On one day our progress was announced by solar observation to be forwarded, and on the next our course had assumed a retro-

grade direction. This vacillation continued for nearly a week, during which we made a practical discovery, to which, but for experience, we might never have directed our thoughts—that twelve feet square under decks, when the sun has no shadow, is a space sufficiently limited to afford a foretaste of Indian exhaustion and lassitude upon those who were born on the verge of the frigid zone. Henceforth our navigators used all diligence, and pushed our adventurous prow into the latitude of the south: we passed the line drawn by Capricorn, and entered that temperate zone in which so little is land, and where the tribes of men are so thinly scattered; and reached almost to the ice of the southern pole, which, perhaps on account of the great body of water, prevails much nearer to the equator than in the opposite hemisphere. We found on this waste of water the hardy sons of the north, as spermaceti whalers, pursuing the great leviathan, subduing him in his own element, and restraining the fire of his wrath and the rage of his power, as effectually as if they had put 'a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his jaws,' to lead him whither he would not. We steered again toward the north, with our bearing in an easterly direction; and bidding farewell to the African coast, we sailed as if our course lay toward the China Sea, but it was that we might secure a ready entrance and passage up the bay of Bengal. Again we crossed the Line, and sailed along the spice-cultured isle towards Madras. Nine hundred miles in circumference is the

extent of this island, which is situated near to the most southerly point of peninsular India, and separated by Adam's Bridge—a strait almost fordable, as if it had once been an integral part of the continent. Its soil is the native bed of the cinnamon tree, and its shores are found peopled with the pearl-oyster. I am now approximating to the country of my destination; and though Ceylon does not form a part of the district in which I am called to exert myself, I cannot but direct towards it a favourable regard—a feeling of interest. About A.D. 1510, as a reward for repressing Arabian piracy, the Portuguese acquired a claim on the native princes for an annual tribute, and ultimately secured to themselves the possession of the maritime districts of Ceylon. They faithfully served the religion which they professed, and introduced a system of proselytism among the inhabitants. Their power was overturned by the Dutch in 1656, who so far regarded the interests of religion, at least in form, as to divide the island into 240 churchships, with three native teachers to every such division, and to erect the walls of many parochial churches; but these buildings were never finished, and the object was forgotten in the more urgent demands of a worldly merchandise, and many of these *remain unto this day* without a roof. In 1795 the British arms subverted the Dutch power, and have finally obtained the supreme jurisdiction of the whole island. Have they, as individuals, or in societies, proceeded to finish the churches? have they cared for the souls of the

native subjects? May it not be said to any who have represented British enterprise in this country, 'Where is thy brother? the blood of thy brother crieth unto me from the ground!'

"We are now drawing towards the shores of India; have passed Pondicherry, the only French settlement in Asia of any importance; and the Sadras hills are perceptible by the glass. It might well gladden the hearts of the first navigators from Europe, when their eyes rested upon the mountains of Hindostan—when they saw, even as far as the sight could reach, that land, to visit which they had sailed so many leagues, and encountered so many dangers! And how grateful to all of us, who have been fifteen weeks tossed upon the waves of the ocean, and have been delivered from so many perils, and have enjoyed so many comforts, is the view of the same land! But to one who has come forth to tell the worth of the Saviour of sinners to his countrymen, and to the idolatrous Hindoo,—who has eagerly longed and prayed for this eventful day,—what expressions can equal the feelings of joy—of devout gratitude—of supplication—of praise—of devotedness—of renewed dedication, which ought to flow from his heart! May it be no vain wish that his future days be not spent in vain, and that the golden sands of life may not run out unobserved and unimproved!

"But what buildings are these which jut out into the sea, and attract the gaze of the stranger from a far country, which seem to welcome our

arrival? Can they be a place of worship? Are they sacred to religious service? Oh, yes! but not to the true God. They are temples of idolatry; they are the sacred—the seven pagodas at Mavalipuram, in the environs of Sadras and Covelong. Let us turn aside, then, to inquire concerning them."

Any local examination may appear, if introduced just now, an anachronism; but my reader will recognise it as a *stray leaf.*

"They might originally have been seven pagodas, (else whence the name?) but they rather look now as the vestiges, the ruins of some decayed city, partially destroyed by an earthquake, and gradually overwhelmed by the encroachments of the sea. Several of the buildings are still standing, surrounded and washed by the waves; and not many years ago their cupolas, or roofs, reflected back the rays of the sun, from a species of metal with which they seemed covered. Upon the shore, and within a few yards, is a rock, or hill of stone, of whose size, position, and structure, the artists have availed themselves—a practice discoverable in various parts of India. It has the appearance of an antique, romantic edifice, and works of sculpture and imagery are crowded around it. Between it and the sea there is a pagoda rising to a considerable elevation, of a single stone; the top is arched, and the whole seems to have been cut out of a *detached* rock. Beyond this a numerous group of human figures, in bas-relief, and larger than life, present themselves: a perishable monument, pro-

bably, of the exploits of characters eminent in their day; for while some of them, being protected from the sea, are still unimpaired, the greater number being exposed, are rather the decaying symbols of the corroding power of time. Ascending on the northern side of the hill, which forms so prominent a feature in the whole scene, by a stair cut in the rock, the antiquarian inquirer is led to a kind of temple, excavated from the solid rock, the walls of which are adorned by idol figures, made to stand out in full relief from the natural stone. On the opposite side is another excavation, seemingly designed for worship, containing various sculptures of Hindoo deities, one of which represents Vishnu, their saviour, in a gigantic form, sleeping, and his head laid upon a coiled and voluminous serpent as his pillow; this, doubtless, representing one of the principal *avatars*, or incarnations, of that fabulous deity. About a mile and a half further south, other works, more stupendous, but less prominent than these, are found. Here are two pagodas, each originally consisting of a single stone, and hewn out of the primitive rock, thirty feet long, and twenty feet in width and height. Contiguous to them stand two immense figures; one of a full-grown elephant, and the other of a lion, of a size much larger than life, each well executed, and chiselled out of a separate stone. No fragments of the rock remain to testify the amount of labour bestowed by the deluded artists, or the zeal of their devout but erring employers.

They are sheltered by a high bank, which has been cast up from the sea; and though, I believe, the lion is never found in this part of India, the form is exactly symmetrical, and a just representation of the real lion, while the name, Singh, given, is the word in the Hindoo language most appropriate, and which is always understood to mean a lion. These sculptures and pagodas differ in their architecture from modern buildings designed for the same worship. The former approach to the Gothic style; they are surmounted by arched roofs, or domes, composed of two segments of circles, meeting in a point at the top: the latter resemble the Egyptian order; their towers are pyramidical, and the gates and roofs flat, without arches. In one of these latter-named and more southern pagodas, there is an inscription in a character not at present known by the people who live there, but similar to certain obscure symbols of language which I have seen in the caves of Elephanta, and which are even more numerous in the caves of Salsette. It is a species of uncial character, and shaped almost after the form of the square Hebrew letters; it is not derived from the Sanscrit, nor does it bear any apparent affinity to the Deva Nagree. Alas! with what labour of the hands, patience, and application, have these votaries of an idolatrous system testified their zeal for false gods; how slavishly faithful has been their adherence to the worship of their worthless deities; and yet what has it served them? Has it made them better members of society? Has it

bound the links of brotherhood, and cherished the sympathies of humanity? In the distressing hour, or during the convulsions of nature, could their gods save them? No, truly. They had eyes, but they could not see; hands had they, but they could render no aid; nor could they keep alive their own name — their memorial has perished with their worshippers; the very language has become a dead letter. And may we not welcome this as a token for good to those lands, as calculated to shake the faith of the people in their merely nominal gods — to make way for His coming whose right it is to reign, and to whom, in a covenant ordered in all things and sure, all the kingdoms of this world are promised as his heritage, and placed at his disposal, when he is pleased to take possession? All the idol temples, all the influence of their priests,—all their principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places,— shall be brought down as the heat in a dry place, even the heat with the shadow of a cloud. When he shall make rivers to arise in the desert, and streams to water the thirsty ground, then will the people, casting their idols to the moles and to the bats, turn to the Lord with a pure language, and will praise him for the mountain of his holiness. Let Christians remember these things, and be stirred up to honour their God with their substance, and with the first-fruits of their increase; for will a people rob their God, or will Christians fail in gratitude to Jesus?"

"We have, during the early part of this day, been stretching our eyeballs to catch the first, even the most distant, glance of our destined port; and, at length, to the satisfaction of every one, the vessels in the roads were distinctly discerned, and gradually the buildings on the shore opened to our view—a sight of no ordinary interest under any circumstances. After the confinement of months to the narrow limits of a ship, with such uninterrupted succession of sea and sky, of wind and water, almost any terrestrial object would afford relief to the eye: but a land so distant from our own, and whose record is so replete with eventful incidents connected with the history of our native country and her sons; inhabited by a race so singular in their manners, their history, their religion, and their relative distinctions—a people so far from the true God—so deceived and infatuated in the objects of their worship, and yet so capable of being formed for a higher destiny—of being led to embrace a purer faith, a nobler service, and a more glorious reward; to look upon such a land as about to become the scene of my future sojourn, and the sphere of my most desired and congenial pursuits, makes the heart feel unutterable emotion—fills the mind with thoughts so crude, and yet expanded, as will not bend to the limits of common expression, and casts such an uncertainty upon all the calculations of probability, as puts arrangement, anticipation, and sober reasoning, into an attitude of momentary delirium."

Not more surprised by wild visions can the imagined hero of fiction be made to feel on the new territories of romance to which he is introduced, than I have been in looking out upon the diversity, the natural collocation of separate parts, and the mingling features of the *tout ensemble* presented upon shore. Individual objects, when made to sustain their place as features of the *whole*, assume altogether an unexpected character, diverse to all I had painted in fancy's rich domain. What an enchantress Nature is! She sets the pencil, the canvass, and the imagination, at defiance. I muse upon the realities of which I had formed but a partial estimate, and which representations could not convey: the feathery cocoa-nut, the tall palm, and the yellow beach, are signals of a land different from all which I have ever seen; of a path in creation new to me—the heritage of a family of mankind whom I have not hitherto seen, but with whom my interests and future responsibilities shall be intimately and inseparably associated.

The appearance of Madras from the roads is imposing and grand. Fort St. George lies upon the margin of the coast, and its walls are washed by the flowing tide. The buildings along the shore have all a stately aspect, and seem rather the palaces of great and wealthy princes, than the habitations of stranger merchants in a foreign land. Bentinck Buildings, of which the supreme court, and other law offices, form but a part, are in the first style of splendour. In the same line is the

custom-house on one side, and the post-office on the other; constituting a range contiguous from the southern point of the fort to the black town-gate, with a slight and barely perceptible interval of nearly three miles. The walls of the houses are overlaid with a composition called chunam, susceptible of the highest polish; which, at a distance, when the building is new, is as pure as alabaster, and, by age, acquires the colour of a greyish marble. Madras is situated on an extended plain. A low range of hills, to the north, rises in the distance, extending to the interior; and another line of low mountains, which we have already singled out from Sadras, reaches southward. The former you see to the right, and the other to the left, as you look upon the town from the deck of the ship. Thus the chief objects of attraction are the town and its environs, and especially the European villas. There is all the luxuriance of an eastern clime discoverable in the face of the surrounding country; so that, casting your eye beyond the foaming surf, the low sandy beach, and the city buildings, with their lofty verandahs, columned piazzas, and terraced roofs, the spires of three or four churches, the dome of an Armenian convent, and the crested minarets of the Moslem faith, you fix upon the waving acacia, the sweeping, drooping bamboo, the broad-leaved plantain, the aspiring, tufted palmyra, and the stately and wide-spreading hospitable banian—all wooing the zephyr, which is scarcely strong enough to excite vibration in the lightest

tendrils, while not a cloud intervenes between them and the clear blue ether in the mid air.

We had no sooner dropped our anchor, than the ship was boarded by—men, they were, but whether their habitation was on land, or in the water, a stranger could hardly decide. We were two miles from the shore, we saw no boat coming along-side, neither was there one on the larboard or star-board. Our visitors were not shaking their black locks as if they had passed through the waters, neither were they wringing their garments—they were *in nudibus;* yet, more surprising, they handed a document of an official character from the shore to our captain. And who were they, or how could they come there? The sailors called them Cata-maran Jacks; men who plough the billows and the raging surf upon two, and sometimes three planks, six or eight feet long, with a short paddle in their hands; they sit on these planks cross-legged or astride, as suits their convenience, striking the water first on one side, and then on the other, with their solitary paddle. These are our first medium of communication with the shores of far-celebrated and long-civilized India! Now all is bustle and preparation, anxiety and anticipation. The sun has gone down—the day has closed; and prudence dictates a brief delay. This exercise of patience is necessary, and is yielded to—more of constraint, than of a willing mind. Another night must be passed on board—then the daylight will be before us. A new country, a strange people, and our

ignorance of both, prescribe the morning as the period of our debarkation. And now, how many mercies should be recorded,—how sincere the gratitude, how devout the praise, how enduring the memorial, here presented,—since a thousand opening waves have not swallowed us up; since the storms, with all their fury, have not overwhelmed us; and since all the billows of the mighty deep have not gone over us: but even in the midst of the storm—on the verge of the heaving gulf, the throne of prayer, the ear of a Father, have been accessible, and the fountain of mercy has been open, and the love of God has been shed abroad.

"Now safely moored, my perils o'er,
I'll sing, first in night's diadem,
For ever and for evermore,
The Star, the Star of Bethlehem."



FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS

MISSIONARY SCENES AND SKETCHES AT THE PRESIDENCY.

On the morning after we had cast anchor, there was no instance of lethargy on board; our orisons did not remain to be performed by the light of day, and there was no disposition any further to indulge suspense; we felt that with truth might it be said, 'we could not tell what a day would bring forth.' Within the tropics, the grey dawn, that isthmus between day and night, spreads itself over only a brief space of time; but speedily as it passes over,

the shadows of the night had not gone down upon the verge of the horizon, when many of us were on deck, looking out upon the strange shores, and longing for the boat which should transfer us to *terra firma*, and the immediate intercourse of the peculiar people who have been for four thousand years the unaltered inhabitants of Hindostan. The coolness of the past night; the freshness and elasticity of the sea air; the clear and unclouded sky when the sun had arisen; the silence which pervaded the whole atmosphere; the mingled feelings peculiar to our position—on the margin of a new world; the religious reflections arising from the season—it was the morning of the hallowed day; the stillness of devout composure become, in a Christian, almost habitual to that day; the gratitude for past favours and mercies, and the mixture of anticipation with apprehension inseparable from such a crisis; the entrance upon new and untried engagements among a people, strange, and of a hard language; will account for, but will faintly explain, the inward emotion and external excitement of the hour of debarkation. About six o'clock, I secured what is called a masulah-boat. This is a vessel found most suitable for the Madras surf, about twenty or twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and of an equal depth—stern and prow nearly square, planks an inch thick, with cross-bars, on which the rowers sit. There were eight men to row, with a steersman. His helm consisted of a pole nine feet long, and a piece of thin board

at the extremity, nine or ten inches square; and such was the oar of each rower. Upon minute inspection, not a nail could I discover in the whole vessel—the several planks lashed, or sewed rather, together, with a cordage indigenous to the country, produced from the cocoa-nut tree, and termed coyar. With a boat so constructed, I quitted the firm-built sea-boat, "the good ship P——," and launched forth to buffet the rolling surges of the Coromandel surf. Having adopted the precautionary measure of making in person preliminary arrangements for the accommodation of my family, I proceeded alone, leaving the object of fondest solicitude on board. Ah! how did my heart beat and my imagination revel, as I approached the shore; but shortly the poetry of sentiment was expelled, and the dreams of fancy were interrupted, while the demon of disorder seemed to brood over our stern. The waves which come rushing up the bay of Bengal, and find their current impeded by the straitening shores, fret themselves against the beach at Madras, which in a very doubtful contest, barely succeeds in resisting their invasive struggles. As we drew near the land, these waves pressed singly, yet, precipitately upon our rear, while the billows which were passing, or had gone before us, were dashed back again by the resistance of the coast, and threatened, if not the swamping, at least the twisting of our pliant bark. Added to which, the rowers, a class of people singularly unique, a species of Mohammedanized Papists, who

had been singing a boat-song, which will ring in my ears for many a day, now began simultaneously, but without concert, vociferously to ululate a demi-moslem exclamation, "Ullah, ullah, al ullah." Their object is to agitate the stranger, to magnify the perils, and to obtain a douceur as a reward for their skilful pilotage, in landing him high and dry. Without any catastrophe, or any adventure, more than a partial drenching with the sprinkling spray, I landed; and then again sensation, strangeness, emotion, bewilderment, and an unaccountable rolling, as if the ground were bounding beneath my feet, so totally banished all presence of mind, that I went forward, and saluted the only European to be seen on the beach, with a squeeze of cordiality equal to a seven years' friendship. I found afterwards, to my great mortification, that he was the son of a tavern-keeper—one of the most prominent conveniences of European life, but, strange to say, one of the least reputable employments in all India; and still more strange to say, an accommodation which it is almost disreputable to enjoy: the man who avails himself of this Englishman's castle must have no friends, no introductions.

There were, comparatively, but few natives on the beach: it was yet early. However, I had scarcely planted my feet on the soil of India, when one of its suppliant inhabitants saluting me by a profound salaam, offered his services in the capacity of a personal attendant—a Madras Dubashee, clothed in clean white cotton garments, with a web

of muslin round his head, gold rings in his ears, and a silver signet on his finger. I had neither purpose nor occasion to accept his aid, further than to obtain a palanquin, and give the bearers directions to convey me to a friend's abode. My tongue had already become familiar with the professional epithet used by them, and borrowed from the Portuguese, to designate a clergyman. My inquiries for Padre T—— and Padre L——, were soon met by satisfactory replies, and I was placed after their fashion of travelling, as in a litter, and carried on the shoulders of six men, who, at the pace of a chairman, trotted along with me to the house of my friend. Here, though an unexpected visitor, I was kindly welcomed, and entertained in the true style of hospitality, which has become a national trait of Britons in this far-distant clime. Every convenient arrangement was made for my family, which, by the kind attention of friends, was speedily transferred from the limited confines of a quarter-deck, and received to the spacious mansion and one thousand comforts of British economy and kindness in India. My friend's house was situated beyond the inland boundary of Black Town; at least so to me it appeared, from the intricate maze, the multitudinous throngs, and inexplicable novelties, through which I was conveyed. My mind was too sorely agitated, and my feelings wounded, by the sad contrast between the sacred day and the surrounding scenes, to permit a deliberate inspection of strange features, sable

countenances, unusual costumes, singular buildings, and extraordinary manners of the people. The Dubashee escorted me through the labyrinth of lanes and streets, and, as it seemed to me, over an extensive tract of suburban scenery, until he had conducted me to the abode of my friends, and was well pleased with a reward not exceeding the value of sixpence. How suitable was the day for the engagements, which ought, under such circumstances, primarily to occupy the mind, the Christian will instantly perceive. We went into the house of God, and in the midst of the congregation of his saints paid our vows, made mention of his loving-kindness, and were joined by the people in thanksgivings for the care which, through so many vicissitudes, we had experienced from a beneficent and gracious God.

There is a tendency in the constitution of our frame, whether moral or physical, which whoever has sojourned at a distance from his birth-place, and has met in the region of his travels fellow-citizens, or even countrymen, cannot but have observed; though its origin be not easily traced. We refer to the cordiality and readiness with which the inhabitants of even distant provinces of the same empire enter into the feelings, interests, and comforts of a stranger who has come forth from their own land, to associate in their pursuits, and especially to share in their toils and pleasures. But when united to this source of sympathy is the bond of brotherhood which pervades the christian family, how many are the kind acts, how pure the enjoyment,

and how generous the interests, which are experienced when brother meets brother upon the high places of the field; or when, under the hallowed influence of christian principle and affection—more refreshing than the cooling shade of the hospitable banian, and the limpid stream, flowing from a perennial spring in a sultry land—fellow-labourers and fellow-travellers hold converse on the things of the heavenly kingdom, and recount their undeserved privileges—the boon of a Father's love:—

> " O days of heaven, and nights of equal praise!
> Serene and peaceful as those heavenly days,
> When souls drawn upwards in communion sweet,
> Enjoy the stillness of some close retreat;
> Discourse, as if releas'd and safe at home,
> Of dangers past, and wonders yet to come,
> And spread the sacred treasures of the breast
> Upon the lap of covenanted rest."

I cannot agree with the philosophers who retrace the progress of the human species through every subordinate degree of civilization, till they find our first father without words to indicate his ideas, or at most, using a language destitute of the common rules of grammar; I, therefore, am unable to imagine what the unintelligible jargon, or the state of mind from which it proceeded, might be, when the fancied herds of mankind first began to perceive that other creatures, sentient and rational, shared with them the wide domain, and roamed in untamed wildness through the thickets of the forest. Nevertheless, it is a lamentable truth,

that myriads of the descendants of Adam,—who, formed after the image of God, as an intelligent immortal, in the integrity of innocence, and in the power of sovereignty, was no mean companion for angels, and was honoured with the complacency and intercourse of his God,—have reached a depth of degeneracy more frightful and fatal than the gloomiest speculations of these authors; and when shut up to the frenzy and ferocity of their own degradation, how dark and dismal the desolations of such savages will become, the shores and fertile valleys of New Zealand still exhibit; and their record will more minutely and correctly reveal at the judgment day. The devoted Caribbee in the islands of the West, and the more ferocious islander of the Southern Pacific, in their earliest interviews with the mariners on board the ships of discovery which first visited their shores, serve as indubitable evidence of the posture of prostration to which proud man may be reduced, when left to the reign of ignorance as well as of sin. It is palpable to even a superficial observer, how singularly moulded will the character of man become to the circumstances in which he is found. And yet that the character which, on a primary calculation, appears the most permanent, will be found susceptible of many and important transformations, under influences equal to the work, might be abundantly demonstrated and ratified by the moral metamorphoses which have passed upon many an untoward subject, as exhibited in the history of the human

mind, and told in the experience of men. To a very late hour in life, a trivial incident may prove a stimulus to the dormant energies, and act, as by the power of enchantment, to change the current of passion, and transform the destinies of future life. There are, undoubtedly, certain sentimental sympathies produced by early association, which secure a *locum tenens* in the mind's demesne, and defy eradication by the most violent vicissitudes: the spreading storm only entwines their fibrous roots more closely with the soil. Thus as the organs of external sensibility are the primary medium of our earliest perceptions, and the objects which first invited them possess, in a mountainous country especially, a permanency and individuality, and are often garnished in colours most congenial to the visual powers of the beholder; it follows, that "where'er we roam, where'er we rest," we never can obliterate the lowly vale and the silent rill—the rugged peak and the mountain flood—the rude hamlet and the woodland scene. And in proportion to the relative greatness and grandeur of the objects, will be the recollections and attachments of the admirer;—hence the *amor patriæ* of the mountaineer. Yet, if secluded from more extended intercourse, and limited by the bounds of the village hamlet, or denied the society of strangers, and intelligence from other regions, the conceptions must remain contracted, and the progress and enlargement of the mind will be characteristically slow. Hence the slumbering embers

of feudal affection and despotism among Celtic Highlanders, and the long lingering loyalty of the Scottish clans towards the unworthy house of Stuart; which was rather the victory of local attachment over the reasonings of the judgment, than the convictions of a divine right, summoning the energies of the mind.

But if character be modified by the events and associations of an isolated or limited sphere, the operation of extended and expanding influences will produce results of the same nature, but in a proportionate degree more magnificent. It, therefore, must be an interesting subject of inquiry, what influence have the grand scenery of Asiatic regions, and unparalleled perpetuity of residence enjoyed by the Hindoos, produced on the minds and characters of oriental nations; and what are the moral phenomena presented among a population so unmixed and aboriginal in their descent, in their social and domestic relations. But the traveller who proceeds on such an embassy, and becomes the observer of the customs, habits, and institutions of these countries, must have emancipated his mind from the extensive and powerful dominion of association,—must have extinguished the agreeable, yet deceitful feelings of national vanity, and cultivated that patient humility, so characteristic of the inductive philosophy which builds general inferences only upon the repetition of individual facts. Else every thing he sees shocks some passion, or flatters it; and he may

perpetually detect a seducing bias to distort facts, so as to render them agreeable to his system and his feelings. To attain such an acquaintance with their prevalent opinions and propensities, as will enable a stranger to comprehend, in common phraseology, the *genius* of a people, requires a long residence among them, a familiar acquaintance with their language, and an easy intercourse among their various societies. The society into which a transient stranger gains the most easy access, in any country, is not often that which ought to stamp the national character; and no criterion could be more fallible for a people so reserved and inaccessible as the Hindoos, with whom it is almost an impossibility to overcome the prejudice of caste. Eighteen months in India, and a smattering of what others have written, are not sufficient for an authority which is implicitly relied on in such investigations. Monsieur B——, whom I met in the suite of the Viscomte de R——, exploring the arcana of the vegetable world, obtained great *éclat* for his knowledge and collection of oriental roots and leaves. During but a few months, he spent two or three days, or sometimes a week together, at intervals, in the jungle, solitarily examining the botanical productions of the wide regions through which he passed. Another of the illuminati, deservedly esteemed in the same department, and who had acquired the title of D. C. for his erudition in the science of shells, I have found as great a rarity in general society, after a residence

of forty years in a British settlement, as if he were but a stranger of yesterday. They made proficiency in their respective sciences; and well they might; shells and fish, roots and leaves, may exercise the understanding, without exciting the passions.

My readers will perhaps receive these discursive reflections as affording some traits of travels, and be induced to exercise their judgment on what is submitted to them; seeking not so much to humour the imagination by a recurrence of novelty, incident, and gorgeous representation, as to inform their mind, and come to a dispassionate estimate of the moral state of their fellow-men; and turning their eyes within, to inquire wherefore they read, and with what advantage they have received the fruits of others' labours, and the disquisitions of philosophical minds, or the observations, narratives, and representations of travellers, who have written for the information of others, and have served as the reflective mirror—the intermediate moral agency which connects distant scenes and distant observers, and transmits to the latter the modifications and influence of the former.

It often happens that more of the localities are seen by a stranger in a place, or during the first few weeks of a residence in a town, than may be esteemed, or known, by the oldest inhabitant: the eye and the ear are both more curious and more active in their comparisons; and the familiarity which takes off the edge of inquiry, and renders objects less prized, because more accessible, has

not encroached upon the visitor so far as to interfere with his observation. Hence the individual whose habits and prepossessions have been produced and matured by permanent residence, may be a less acceptable guide to the lions of a city, than the mere cursory and transient observer. To the primary survey of the latter, features and points of character not unfrequently present themselves, which will better serve to delineate the outlines of a landscape, or a panoramic view, and to attract the observer, than the laboured and voluminous descriptions of the local and learned antiquary. Early impressions, too, often prove the springs whence flow many of our most permanent conclusions; and even when erroneous, exert a wayward influence upon the future judgments and decisions. It is, nevertheless, to the evidence of the patient and observing resident that we should listen, before we form our estimate of character and moral influence. To serve all purposes, then, I will introduce my readers to an intelligent and benevolent friend, Major Ormstowe, of whom it is enough to say, that he has intimately known Madras, and the proceedings of its municipality, for many years; and that, during uninterrupted intercourse with the people, he has elicited and secured the esteem of the natives, and proved himself their friend.

I should lose all credit with admirers of the *unities*, were I to invite thee, gentle reader, to a *walk* through the streets, passages, and environs of

Madras; but as it will be more in character, we shall order the *palkee booies* to bring a *tonjon* for your accommodation; while my friend the major and I shall each avail ourselves of the like conveyance. Now a tonjon differs greatly in construction from a sedan chair, though it also receives the traveller in an upright posture. It is altogether much lighter; and to model the chair to the pattern of the tonjon, first, you must remove the close front entirely—respiration requires this—and keeping the top as a protection from the vertical sun, you may place over it a cus-cus mat, almost saturated with water; gradually elevate the foot-board toward the front; take away the close sides, right and left, and in their stead, upon an extended brass wire, hang your green silk curtains, which may be drawn at pleasure; cast away your springing shafts, or poles, as unsuited to the mode of carriage, and supply their place by an oval-shaped, unbending pole, of three feet and a half before and behind; and dismiss your two Celtic porters for six or eight athletic northern or Teloogoo booies, or bearers, with red muslin turbans, neatly wrapped round their heads, and the skirts of their cotton jackets gathered upon the loins, their cumberband, or girdle, nine or ten cubits in length, bound tightly around their waist. They will elevate you upon their shoulders, three behind and three before; and to secure your equilibrium, they will arrange themselves alternately right and left. The regularity of their motion, the elasticity of their

bodies, and the order of their step, will immediately conciliate you to the perambulations of the evening. Thus mounted, and in such favourable company, we shall visit the chief places of concourse, where the natives congregate for merchandise and amusement, and glance at their appearance, as it strikes a stranger. We may then gratify our feelings of reverence, and mark the bulwarks of Zion, which her sons have reared in this heathen land; and pass, though with no rude step, or unhallowed gaze, through the gates of the daughters of Zion, and among the mansions of the silent dead, and the monumental tombs of those who, in their day, were great, and, it may be, good men, but are now in the dust, low as other mortals. This will serve as a prelude to the illustration of topics more important, and, perhaps, not less interesting. Our estimate, formed upon the observations of successive years, of the native character, the changes which have been produced, and the means by which they have been effected, may probably prove serviceable to the christian philanthropist, while we can hardly aspire to be summoned as a witness before rulers and potentates. Such facts as may be illustrative of the state and influence of our ecclesiastic and missionary establishments,—of the general and moral influence and characters of Europeans, both in the higher and more subordinate classes of the community,—will no doubt be acceptable for the information of the Christian, and we shall adduce them without fear or favour.

Verandahs, ornamented with handsome pillars, and surmounted by the terraced roof, spacious halls, elegant saloons, airy bed-rooms, and retired boudoirs, are the conveniences of almost every European dwelling here; while kitchen, offices, stable, and go-downs, form a distinct range of buildings, separate by themselves; the whole contained within an extensive paddock, or what is here denominated a compound or garden, the latter an evident misnomer: its appearance will be better comprehended, when I call it a *field* of one or two acres, very partially cultivated, with an abundance of cocoa trees, and others more umbrageous, and suited to the taste of an Englishman. From such a comfortable and almost princely mansion, the residence of our friend the major, we shall immediately sally forth in our tonjons, for the high-ways and by-ways of Madras.

"What house is this, Sir, so sequestered, sombre, and extensive, without any ornament, more than a pillared porch, under which a carriage is placed as under shelter? How many fine old shady banian trees, serving as 'a shadow from the heat in a dry place' to these slumbering natives who are scattered in clusters through the extensive grounds!" These are palkee bearers; and you perceive their servile precaution in placing their palankeen under the same protection with themselves, for otherwise their masters would find it heated as an oven. Most of them are the attendants of the gentlemen who are officially engaged

within. This is the college of Fort St. George, and it is a board day. The institution differs entirely from every thing of the name you may have seen heretofore; there are no groves of Hecademus, no cloistered cells, no peripatetic lectures. There is a board of superintendence, composed of civil servants of the Company; none among them, however, holding the rank, or discharging the functions, of professor or fellow—they are denominated translators. The younger civilians (writers they are called, when appointed) sometimes continue their attendance for two or three years after their arrival in the country; and before they obtain local appointments, they are required to submit to public and reported examinations in the languages which they have studied. The teachers are native Moonshees; and there is always a class of junior natives, under the auspices of government, preparing for this employment, who also submit to examinations, and receive certificates. These are some of the latter class whom you will observe loitering around the entrance, with uncovered heads; their hair shorn close in front, and a single lock hanging from behind the crown of the head. Within this building the Madras Literary Society has deposited its library, and occupies a reading room. I cannot inform you, however, of any of their philosophical transactions, their scientific inquiries, or periodical publications. Madras is not a literary settlement. Unless it be such as are devoted to, I should rather say, infatuated by, or

involved in, deep play; such as flit in the gay but meteoric galaxy of a ball-room; or such as are deeply engrossed in the more responsible duties of the government, (and there are never many of either description;) all the people here go early to bed, and rise soon, but not for study.—This you will admire as a fine, wide, and retired road; it is a very favourite ride of mine.

"What handsome structure do you say that is, Major, to the left, like an areopagus, or other Grecian fane, with façades, porticoes, pillars, and all the *et cetera* of ornamental architecture?" That is a temple of Thespis, reared by some of our lavish admirers of the buskin, and once bid fair to rival old Drury or Covent Garden. The Pantheon is the character it bears; a designation of which I cannot give you any history, as connected with this would-be arena of bloodless tragedy or histrionic comedy. There is not talent enough among the descendants of Europeans, or it is yet latent, since they or their masters stand so far apart, that the unmounted heroes of the stage, and the admirers of the dramatic representation, cannot take counsel together, so as to muster a *corps dramatique;* or, perhaps, it may be, that the most of our travelled Englishmen speedily imbibe a modicum of the Hindoo's notion, who thinks it strange and out of character for a man to dance who *can* pay for dancing girls, and so save himself the trouble and inconvenience of animal excitement. But from whatever cause, such is the fact,

that except when a few choice spirits can congregate from every clime,—(choice, of course, according to their own principle of selection, which will not revolt at a confederacy with a spendthrift son, who, after breaking his father's heart, has enlisted as a private soldier; or a ruined gambler, whose last shift was to accept a commission in a regiment in the Indies,)—except on such very rare occasions, the stage is hardly ever occupied; and so unsuccessful has the whole speculation turned out, that the scenic habiliments and the curtain representations have, for some time, been advertised for sale, without a prospect of a purchaser, and the house is now in the hands of a wealthy Armenian, perhaps as a very poor *quid pro quo*. *Sic Pantheon transeat!*

"But, Major, what extensive building is this to the right, on the same road, and quite contiguous, where so many natives seem to resort, and where there appears so much the air of business to interest them?" This is the police cutcherry—a well-regulated establishment, whose superintendency embraces Madras and its environs, containing a population of five hundred thousand human beings, where the native obtains justice and protection, and whence the criminal does not go unpunished. Indeed, so impartial is the administration of *right*, that the haughty European is sometimes heard to utter the language of dissatisfaction. The palankeen bearers, and cooly (or hired) palankeens, are here registered and num-

bered, as the hackney coaches of London are; so that every gentleman who would travel with security throughout the presidency, has only to make application by note here, and the fare will be stated, the bearers supplied, and directions given as to stages, accommodation by the way, &c. The police magistrate can take cognizance of every crime, but can only punish for petty delinquencies. But I must defer a history of police jurisprudence till we have done with the *sights* of Madras; and if you will only diverge a little to the left, I will introduce you to a village whose name has become incorporated with the history of our national education, and which, I am confident, will not be destitute of interest to *you*—I mean Egmore. It was here that Dr. Bell first caught the suggestion of *his* plan, and it was from the process of Hindoo education. It is but fair to admit, that the same principle seems to have been almost spontaneously occurring to the mind of another no less benevolent *friend* of mankind—Joseph Lancaster. Dr. Bell had the advantage of practical experiment over the gradual development of the mere theory of the Friend. The village is quiet, rural, cleanly, and contains the houses of rather respectable Hindoos. It may, I fancy, be called a moodeliar (merchant) village; the inhabitants generally appear engaged in the traffic of commerce, according to their *caste*, but many are also employed in other occupations. That plain but extensive building, is the Madras Male Asylum, and contains generally within its

walls 350 or 400 children: not a few of them are the illegitimate offspring of some who are ashamed to acknowledge their sins, and who send their children here as orphans, paying a small allowance monthly. There are also many children of soldiers, chiefly deceased, but almost all of mixed blood and colour. The school is under the superintendence of governors and directors, with a chaplain, a secretary, and a surgeon, besides teachers of various degrees, and is conducted on Dr. Bell's system, or rather, the Hindoo system anglicised.

"But what low, inelegant, and peculiarly-shaped erection is this, inclosed by a palisade, with a small pond near to it, where these fat natives seem indulging their sloth?" Why, I am almost ashamed to tell you the history of this establishment, it is so discreditable to the name of an Englishman. But the story will illustrate one of the causes of the small success which these benevolent men, the missionaries, have hitherto experienced. There was an Englishman, I cannot call him a Christian, and it would not serve any special interest to repeat his name; the natives will tell it to you; he held the highest rank of any of the territorial civilians—the land collectorate of Madras. Having occasion to visit Bengal, he made something like a pilgrimage to Benares, and brought with him when he returned one thousand bullocks, carrying the sacred water of the Ganges: the distance was more than twelve hundred miles. A tank was dug (what you call a pond) on the ground, secured under his

influence, and here was poured out the water of the deified Gunga. A pagoda was built, the expenses of which were said to be defrayed at his charges, and the whole establishment was devoted to the worship of a Hindoo deity. This is the monument of that impious and execrable idolatry; and these men, to whom you allude, with their heads shaven of all their hair, except one lock behind, a cord thrown over the one shoulder, and coming under the other arm, their foreheads besmeared with stripes, red, yellow, and white, from a composition, the chief part of which consists of the ashes of cow-dung, and their cotton garments saffron-coloured or unbleached—these are the Brahmins, supported from a fund connected with this pagoda: and these men, with not a few other neighbouring Brahmins, if you address them on the follies of idol worship, will tell you that Dora —— built them a pagoda, and became a convert to their religion. He has gone to his account long since; but the bare recital of the impiety makes my blood curdle. How truly does the cause of pure religion suffer from the folly of those who were trained under its benign influence, and how justly will a jealous God prove himself to such a consuming fire!

"I am most happy to enjoy under your auspices, Sir, the services of these bearers, but shall we not exceed propriety, and exhaust their strength by the extent of our rambles? their groans are so piteous, that I cannot but fancy they are too fatigued to

proceed with comfort further." Your solicitude is perfectly natural, and is usually experienced by every tender-hearted Griffin, but quite unnecessarily. These men will carry you twenty-five or thirty miles daily, for a week together, and will run during the last stage, between sun-set and sun-rise, forty miles without much difficulty. They are endued with great patience; and it is surprising how, upon merely milk and farinaceous diet, they can hold out under their burdens so long. What you call their groans are certain recognised cadences by which they regulate their step: you must not measure the *utile* in their music, or the influence of their song, by your own taste for harmony. The domestic policy of these men will doubtless appear to you very singular. They are called northern bearers, because they come from the northern circars, near to Vizagapatam and Ganjam, seven hundred miles north of Madras. A party of them, consisting of twelve or fourteen, chiefly young men, will arrange to leave the home of their fathers, and sometimes even the wife of their bosom and the children of their love, to proceed to Madras, where they will engage themselves in the service of one master. They commit their homes and families under a patriarchal guardianship. They are generally found faithful, docile, and obedient; and often insinuate themselves into the confidence of their employer, by nursing him when sick, and patiently, and with seeming affection, waiting upon his children. They recognise one of their number as

Peria booy, or chief, to whom they are subordinate. When they have been absent from their homes eighteen months or two years, two of them, having provided for themselves acceptable substitutes, will return on a visit to their families and country; and these are entrusted with the savings of all the others, which they carry to their friends. After an absence of three or six months, they rejoin their party; and when a similar period has elapsed, two others succeed them in the homeward visit. They maintain intercourse in this manner for ten or twelve years, and then, in many instances, retire to their native country, where, upon the savings of their economy, they establish themselves in the villages of their ancestors as cultivators of the soil. If every European whom these Gentoos serve would strive to communicate knowledge to them, and were only to succeed so far as to give them an acquaintance with the facts and statements of the blessed gospel, might it not prove ultimately as the sowing of the good seed in the vernal season? And what fruit might be gathered, it may not be easy to calculate.

"But, Sir, pardon the interruption, what do you call this low, crowded, and almost impenetrable mass of ruinous huts and rude sheds, with cotton yarn, unbleached cotton cloth, half-dried and drying grain, grass, and sweetmeats, seemingly exposed for sale; with so many entirely naked, squalid, and dirty children running and scrambling about, that it is almost impossible to pass without going

over them, through the close, dirty, narrow, and uneven streets? The odour is very offensive, and threatens almost to constrain the mere passenger to inhale infection or disease, from the mixture of decaying vegetation with the secretion of animal matter." This is one of the populous villages which almost engirdle Madras. It is named Chinandrepette; literally, *another little town.* You are now passing along one of the first walks of that amiable and unrivalled youth — an ornament in his honourable vocation—Henry Martyn. It was here he had been when he says—" Towards evening, I walked out with Samie, my servant, in a pensive and melancholy mood, and went through his native village. Here all was Indian. It consisted of about 200 houses (he underrated the extent); those in the main street connected, and those on either side of the street separated from one another by little winding paths. Every thing preserved the appearance of wretchedness. The sight of men, women, and children—all idolaters, makes me shudder, as in the dominions of the prince of darkness." You are furnished with a somewhat different view of it from his record—because we have an earlier hour; it is, moreover, one of the chief bazaar days. The contrast is still greater between your own *western* notions and the reality of an eastern bazaar. It is an illustration of the strange transformation through which the meaning of words will pass; or rather, of the extremes of the species contained in the same genus.

Bring hither the Soho bazaar, or transfer this combination of heterogeneous commodities to the Burlington Arcade, and how will it tell? The grass and gram (a pulse) are sold for horses, and the rest of the grain for human consumption, viz. millet and raggy, as well as rice. This bamboo shed, covered with the leaves of the cocoa tree, is a Tannah, or police watch-house, where two or three peons remain throughout the day; there is such a station in every village district. These are the men called peons, with red turbans, broad shoulder-belts, of blue, red, and yellow cloth, tiger-skin, or of tanned leather, breast-plates, sticks, and swords.

"What are these men, sitting cross-legged upon the ground, a cloth spread before them, upon which are deposited full and half-filled bags, and a heap of copper coins?" These are the Shroffs—money-changers, who will appraise your jewels, decide the merits or value of your precious stones, exchange the gold or silver coinage with the cur rency of smaller value, or lend you, upon sufficient security, sums of money at usurious interests, almost to any amount.—This, you will observe, is a better built, more cleanly part of the village; the houses are more neatly furnished, and most of them have the convenience of a verandah, are white-washed, and the doors green painted, with a resting-place at either side of the entrance. Here you may witness a village school, and their mode of proceeding, under that verandah to the right,

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where these youths are assembled. The teacher is the man seated at the door; the little ones are arranged squatted on the ground, and are tracing with their fingers the letters of their language on a little sand strewed before them: all write the same letter or word, and as soon as it is written, they simultaneously, from the first to the last, distinctly articulate the sound or word. You do not perceive any book in the hands of even the elder youths. But those brown, sun-dried, reed-like slips of the palmyra leaf, from ten to eighteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half in width, are their repositories of wisdom and learning. Three, five, fifty, or five hundred of them, cut into equal lengths, and a circular hole perforating each, dividing them into one and two thirds, and, if amounting to the large numbers, protected by two pieces of wood, make a book: in its unwritten state it is a Cadjan; when written, and this is done with an iron style, it is called an Ollah. The elder boys, you may discern, are all divided into clusters, and are all reading aloud. Every considerable village in this part of India contains such a seminary; so that it is not the establishment of schools, so much as the introduction of sound moral and religious instruction, which is required.—There is an object worthy of your attention,—it is an illustration of the patriarchal simplicity so conspicuous in that family called out of Mesopotamia, three thousand five hundred years ago,—I mean that group of native women: they are returning

from the Tank, a place to which they generally repair twice a day; the substance of each family may be told by the description of vessels they carry, not by the servants they employ. The daughters or wives of the wealthy, as well as of the poor, come forth to draw water, with their ancient urn-like pitchers, some of clay, and others of a mixture of brass and copper; carried some on the hip and others on the head. You observe how slow, erect, and stately is their walk, even under the weight of the full pitcher. The native women pride themselves much on their attitude in walking; and the female whose gait corresponds the nearest to the pace or motion of an elephant, is the most graceful. You can rarely, even in cases of extreme urgency, succeed in exciting a Hindoo woman to a hasty step. Mark their shining black hair, almost saturated with oil, gathered into a knot at the back of the head. I do not remember seeing a Hindoo woman with curled hair; though this leaves no lack of ornaments. They often adorn their head with a chaplet of pale flowers, a gilded or gold plate on their crown, while nose and ears are loaded with rings, and the arms and ankles with bracelets and bangles. Their garments are wonderfully simple, yet very graceful. One piece of cloth wrapped twice round their loins in the breadth, and passing upward in its length over the bosom, is either disposed mantle-like to cover the head, or thrown tastefully across the right shoulder, and brought under the left arm to the middle.

Going to the Tank is their chief season of recreation and intercourse with their neighbours. Otherwise, the acmé of female enjoyment in the highest circle, is the most perfect idleness, and to sleep as long as they are able. Hitherto, none of them have been trained to reading or habits of thought: the most influential natives have to this day (1823) resisted any attempts to introduce instruction among the females. Upon what subject, then, can the poor creatures employ their minds, or what resources can they look to, that they may be sustained in the day of trouble? The Turks are consistent, for while they deny education, they also deny immortality to their women; but Hindooism is a fabric of gross inconsistencies. O that the light of the glorious gospel of the blessed God would chase away the shades of a dark and destructive superstition from among the inhabitants of these lands!

Such inquiries and such answers so occupied us in our route, that we marked not the flight of time. Our evening excursion had familiarized my mind with many novelties, and extended my knowledge of the localities of the presidency. I was again indebted to the same communicative friend, and shall here introduce his delineations, uttered while he was kind enough to conduct me among the *lions* at Madras; nor do I imagine this can be a disagreeable contribution to the fire-side traveller at home. The familiar sketches of conversation in a land so remote as India, will preclude the possi-

bility of losing any thing by interruption. I shall connect his answers without my leading questions; but shall leave him to speak *right on* in his own person.

"We Madrassees are proud of this road, and boast that it is equal to any piece of road in India, or perhaps in Europe. Its width, smoothness, and length, shaded as it is too by the banians from either side, present a most agreeable drive in the cool evening. It was Macadamized before the system of that Scotchman, whose name is a synonyme for good roads, became so popular in England. From Fort St. George it leads to a cantonment of the Company's artillery, at St. Thomas's Mount, nine miles distant. The ascent is not perceptible till you approach the base of the little hill. The avenue extends the whole length of the road; and in many places, the boughs of the opposite trees stretch quite across, and interweave their branches into a canopy that will shelter the passenger. Four miles from the fort is a cenotaph, erected to the memory of the Marquis Cornwallis; and round this monument the fashionables are accustomed to drive, as the place of chief concourse.

"There are various objects of curiosity which will meet the eye of the stranger, as he passes along the line of road towards the town. The Europeans have introduced generally their own fashions and mode of carriages, and are supplied with horses from Arabia: but the natives have conformed less to the manners of their conquerors at this presi-

dency, than in Bengal or Bombay. This is a specimen of their carriages and mode of driving—that curiously-carved car, placed on low wheels, coming towards us; look at the dimensions of the pole proceeding from the axletree, which gradually tapers towards an obtuse angle, and see the snow-white cupola-like canopy, ornamented with yellow fringe and red cushions—it is called a *hackery*. Though naturally inelegant, and a clumsy vehicle when harnessed for the course; yet the clean cream-coloured, well-fed, glossy sides of the bullocks, their horns ornamented with gilding and paint, their collars surmounted with bells, and their crimson body-cloths, present an air of substance and comfort not to be contemned; while the pace of the taurean steeds, even alongside of the Arabian courser, you will not, after a little usage, consider despicable. That is the driver, placed on the obtuse end of the beam which passes up between the bullocks, and seated on a cushion-like mattress, fastened to the pole. The reins are a cord of hemp, with a knot upon the part which passes through the perforated nostril of the animal, a means of curbing and directing which you may readily suppose the cattle will implicitly obey. To accelerate the motion, the driver is provided with a short whip, armed at one end with a goad. Under the dome or canopy is seated the proprietor, a merchant or money-changer, cross-legged, and reclining in his pillowed carriage.

"The government-house, a building in which

comfort and convenience are more consulted than display, is enclosed by this high garden wall. At a little distance you might see the house, and one part of the banqueting-room has a truly noble and imposing appearance from its many pillared porticoes: but let us turn aside, and take a survey of this stirring scene to the right. It is the principal residence of the Mussulmans, and is named Treblicane. We are now in the midst of its bazaar. Here is a mart for every article of native consumption, a *mélange* of every commodity in the raw and in the manufactured state, as also in a state of preparation; luxurious dainties and absolute necessaries; ornaments for the feet and for the head; men's slippers, horse-cloths, women's jewels, culinary vessels, carpets, silks, shawls, lace, and embroidery; sweetmeats and rice, fruits, spices, and vegetables. You have it diversified too, not merely by the hum of business, but the brawl of strife, and the whisper of confidential intercourse; the stranger from a distant province imparting information, and the venders in two contiguous booths discussing the tidings of the day; all producing to your ear the confusion of Babel, as far from melody as is the cackle of geese. In one place you perceive lounging in listless idleness, the pensioned adherents of the Nabob of Arcot, haughty looking men, dark-eyed, with olive-brown complexion, and prominent nose, wearing large turbans, muslin vests, gaudy silk trowsers, and noisy slippers, on which by far the largest portion of their income is

squandered. In another you observe a Mohammedan priest, or mollah, walking in stately pride, as ignorant of that Koran of which he boasts, and by which he swears, as the unlettered savage. He can, it is true, decipher the Arabic character; he has too acquired a fluency in articulating the name and titles of 'the Prophet of Mecca;' yet it is to him a sealed book. He stands up before the people, like many a Roman-catholic priest, who, in the middle ages, or perhaps even in later days, could mutter the Latin Breviary, but to whom the sounds were no index to the sense. His grey beard, his bald head, and wrinkled brow, are no indications of true wisdom — he is proud, insolent, and bigoted.

"You mark here and there a native mounted on horseback, their horses strangely caparisoned with silk and gold embroidery. The unnatural pace of the noble animals shows the training to which they have been used—an ambling half trot, half canter, as the result of a tight martingal and hard curb. The occasion of all this resort in the vicinity is found in the contiguity of Chepauk, the nabob's residence. He occupies this extensive building. Its princely character would not be learned from the unadorned and naked walls, destitute of even windows: the latter is one of the many symbols of Mohammedan jealousy, and the unnatural tyranny which man usurps over women. These native military, loitering round the gate in half uniform, the guards mounted within, and the

ordnance, which is occasionally employed for salutes, are the visible appendages of the palace of Chepauk, added to a royal retinue, a court, and throne, called by the natives the Durbar and Musnud; but he is merely a nominal prince, a mock pageant, a pensioned relic of former days: it serves to gratify the vanity and soothe the rising murmurs of the Prophet's followers.

"That is a Moslem mosque, or place of worship for the Mussulman creed, to the right. It is possessed of little external ornament; and within nothing is seen but bare walls, without benches, chairs, or any other description of seats. About one-third of the inner part is raised probably a foot and half higher than the rest; and just above this is suspended a lamp, with which the house is dimly lighted: but there are niches around the walls to receive other lamps, which are abundantly furnished on any particular occasion. On the elevation, the mollah stands, when reciting the Koran, or offering the prayers of the faithful: there is, however, little show of devotion; nor is this the country for splendid mosques, gilded minarets, or the shining crescent.

"You are aware, that most of the Hindoo castes burn their dead, and tombs and sepulchres are, therefore, not so frequently to be met in this as in other countries, though the kingdom of dark death is not less extensive, nor his victims less numerous. The Mohammedans, however, do not conform to the prevalent practice; and we come now to a place of

tombs. These buildings, like to small mosques, are mausoleums for the dead. You observe the place is neatly arranged, and separated into distinct divisions, or family plots: even the graves of the poor are kept clean. Mourning relatives strew over the ashes of their departed friends, flowers and garlands, and frequently cultivate the soil, adorning it with living plants, which they cherish as fond memorials of past friendship and association. They often visit these silent abodes, as if to hold converse with their spirits, and anticipate a joyful renewal of personal intercourse. Those Mohammedans who are possessed of wealth, in many cases appropriate a fund sufficient for the maintenance of a mollah, who shall not cease to read the Koran in Arabic, at certain hours, from day to day, and offer prayers for the soul of the deceased. Hence, from the place of interment is frequently heard the voice of devotion."

Alas, how vain are those prayers, how superstitious this regard, and how delusive the hopes thus cherished! Yet it is all consistent with the sensual representations of their creed—the corporeal enjoyments of that paradise of which they dream—and their views of the employment of disembodied spirits. A deceived heart has led them astray; and a system of imposture deludes their hopes and confidence. Far, far is the reality from their apprehensions! Sympathy and circumstances may indeed produce sentimental excitement—a naturally hallowed and soothing, and even deeply

religious feeling, and a temporary but fictitious pleasure. But there is no communion, no reciprocal intelligence, nor interchange of affection! It is not from the Koran that a guilty creature will learn the way of acceptance with God; and all mankind are guilty and under condemnation. It is not by the power of the *Prophet*, as Mohammed is called, nor by the efficacy of prayers, nor any appointment of man, that a poor, distracted, conscience-smitten trangressor, can obtain peace; neither is there any other name under heaven given among men, whereby they can be saved, but that of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

"You are now introduced into the Fort of Madras. It is generally esteemed strong; and is so, except probably in one point. It is well provided with arms and troops; not that there is now any need for walled cities and powerful garrisons in this part of India, either to defend against invaders, or to resist or prevent the revolt of the natives. The latter are attached to our government, and know well the security and peace they enjoy under it; and the former have all been subdued or rendered subsidiary to British dominion. God has given peace in our day, and made wars to cease in our borders. In the Fort, however, are situated most of the public government offices, with which the whole is principally occupied. You may observe most of the buildings are spacious and magnificent. That handsome building on which the flag-staff is mounted, contains the council-room and the secre-

taries' offices; and this monument, which so appropriately occupies the centre of the square, is a fine marble statue of Lord Cornwallis. To the right, and leading from the square towards the sea, is the Fort Church, St. Mary's. It is plain and neat; but I direct you to it not for the architecture—my wish is, that we may enter and survey some of the memorials of the holy dead. It will afford you some relief from the contrast with the Treblicane mosque and Mohammedan mausoleums.

"Over the left aisle you observe two marble tablets—they are a tribute of esteem rendered to christian integrity, personal excellency, and pre-eminent devotedness, by a body of men at the time little disposed to panegyrize the character of christian missions, or to eulogize their agents. These monumental testimonies were erected to the memory of two men, whose memory will long be as the savour of precious ointment poured forth, and whose names will be held in grateful and lasting remembrance by the fathers and the sons in the infant church of India. *Schwartz* and *Jerické* were benefactors of mankind; the servants of Jesus, they sought to extend the knowledge of his name, and were themselves living epistles of Jesus Christ, known and read of all men. They knew in whom they had believed—were persuaded of his faithfulness—and through evil report and good report, were instant in season and out of season, to declare what their eyes had seen and their hands had handled of the word of life. Schwartz had studied

the Tamil language during two years before he arrived in the country where he was destined to labour: he landed in India in the year 1750. Forty-eight years did he spend, striving to hold forth the word of life among the poor Hindoos. He conformed his dress to the costume of the country, from the large turban to the red turned-up slippers. His early fluency in the language, his kindly manners, his self-denial, his constancy and unwearied patience, his parental solicitude, and the fidelity with which he laboured, were blessed, and rendered him the object, almost the idol of affection, and secured for him an influence even among heathens greater than native princes or foreign potentates ever possessed.

"In the time of war, when the fort of Tanjore was in a distressed situation—a powerful enemy at hand—and not provision enough even for the garrison; and when, to add to this misfortune, the neighbouring inhabitants, who by ill treatment had lost all confidence in the Europeans, and the Rajah had in vain entreated the help of the people, the only hope left was in Mr. Schwartz. 'We have all lost our credit,' said the Prince to an English gentleman, 'let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Schwartz.' Accordingly he was desired to make an agreement with them. There was no time to be lost. The sepoys, (native soldiers,) fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger. The streets were lined with dead bodies every morning. He sent, therefore, letters in every

direction, promising to pay with his own hands for every bullock that might be taken by the enemy. In a day or two he obtained about a thousand bullocks. He sent catechists and other Christians into the country, at the risk of their lives, who returned in a short time, and brought into the Fort a great quantity of grain. Thus the Fort was saved; and when all was over, he paid all the people, made them a small present, and sent them home.

"At another time, the inhabitants of Tanjore were so miserably oppressed by the Madras Dubashees and others, that they quitted the country; in consequence of which all cultivation ceased, and every one dreaded a famine. The Rajah endeavoured to recall the people, promising that their oppression should be removed, and justice should be done them; but they would not believe him. Mr. Schwartz was then desired by the Rajah to write letters in his name, assuring them that at his intercession, kindness should be shown to them. He was believed. Seven thousand came back in one day, and the rest of the inhabitants followed. He then exhorted them to exert themselves to the uttermost at the time: for cultivation was nearly lost in that season. They replied, 'As you have showed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent it; we intend to work day and night, to show our regard to you.'

"Again, when a negotiation, on which much depended, was to be conducted at the court of

Mysore, with a powerful prince, a jealous Mohammedan, and an enemy to the British interests. Schwartz was called from his immediate and beloved mission, and entrusted with the undertaking. He was admitted to the presence of the Sultan—was respectfully and generously entreated—and from the weight of his own character alone succeeded to the satisfaction of the authorities by whom he had been employed.

"But the days of our years are three-score years and ten—your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever? The days of his pilgrimage and evangelical exertion drew to a termination, and he was brought down to the gates of the grave. His friend Jerické was called to witness his anticipations, full of immortality, to mark the perfect man, and to leave on record how a Christian can die. 'He spoke very humbly of himself,' (it is the language of his beloved Jerické,) 'and in praise of his Redeemer, wishing to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Had it pleased him,' he said, 'that I had remained here longer, I should have liked it; for then I might have spoken a word more to the poor and the sick: but his will be done! May he only receive me in mercy! Into thy hands I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, thou faithful God!' He then rested a little; after which he desired to be raised up, and suddenly expired in the arms of the faithful and affectionate Malabar fellow-labourers of Tanjore, in the seventy-third year of his age. It was

very affecting to hear the wailings and lamentations of the inhabitants of the two christian villages, on both sides of the garden. The sorrow at having lost him, who had been their teacher, their comforter, their benefactor, their adviser, their advocate, was universal. Not only the missionaries, the congregations, the schools, and the mission, but the whole country had lost a father; whoever had but known him, wept.

"On the following day, between four and five in the afternoon, his remains were deposited in the grave dug for him in the church. Serfogee, the Tanjore prince, whose tutor he had been, came to see his corpse before the coffin was nailed down, bedewed it with his tears, and accompanied it to the grave. It was intended to have sung hymns on the road to the burial-place, but the lamentations of the people did not permit it.

"That monument was provided and erected at the expense of the Hon. East India Company; having been designed and sent from England. It represents the closing scene of his life in sinful flesh. He is surrounded by a group of the infant pupils to whom he gave an asylum in his house, and several brethren in the ministry, who attended him at the time. One of the children is embracing his almost lifeless hand, and a brother missionary is supporting his head; but the attention of the venerable man is directed to, and his hand raised towards, an object in the upper part of the bas-relief, namely, *the cross,* which is borne by a

descending angel; implying that the grand subject of his ministry is the chief support of his soul when 'flesh and heart fail.' Over the bas-relief is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching. Under the bas-relief are further emblems of the pastoral office, namely, the crosier; the gospel trumpet, distinguished by the banner of the cross, which is attached to it; and the open Bible, on which is inscribed the divine commission, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'"

This is an honourable tribute from his fellow-men, but perhaps too elaborate. Musing upon the scene, it has occurred to my mind, that it might be well to contrast this with the monumental tablet inscribed to Jerické, which serves as its companion, and casts a gospel light upon the design, the labours, and the character of both men.

The memorial for Jerické represents him in the robes of his pastoral office, standing at full length, his hand stretched forth, and pointing to the Cross, upon which is written, in clear characters, the simple word, "*Believe!*" This conveyed to my mind, when I first contemplated these monuments, more, far more, than the most elaborate eulogy. It was a *sermon* to the observer, an emphatic, a comprehensive, an affecting description of his character, his labours, and the object of his pursuit. It described the man, his message, and the salvation he was sent to proclaim.

But their record is on high; they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them; and though the fort and church were dismantled, and the fabric become a confused ruin, till the nettle shall have skirted, yes, grown over the face of these monumental tablets, and the moss shall have covered the story of their labours; though corroding time shall have obliterated the inscription sacred to their memory, and the dust of their remains be absorbed in the ceaseless vicissitudes of their mother earth; a more durable monument shall be found in the Lamb's book of life, and placed in the record of that goodly company, who cease not day nor night, saying, "Thou art worthy, for thou hast redeemed us out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue, and made us kings and priests unto God; and we shall reign with thee." And though no friendly foot should tread the precincts where their revered remains have been deposited, angels shall guard their dust; the Redeemer himself will restore it, and fashion it like unto his glorious body. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon his servants, that they should be called the sons of God; but, beloved, it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

Great have been the changes within the last twenty-five years; near to the beginning of that period, a humble and affectionate Christian arrived at Madras, on his way to Surat, as a schoolmaster

for one of the missionary societies. During his uncertain, and, as he judged, limited residence, he began to meet two or three, who alone were disposed to assemble for prayer; they were the only praying people known at the Presidency. But God knoweth them that are his. So little were they countenanced by the "mighty" in the world, or those in authority, that when the humble teacher had written a small tract in English, inserting in it a few quotations from the Scriptures, and put it in circulation, he was summoned into the presence of one who possessed great influence, and interrogated how he dared to pursue such a plan. A pen was drawn through the passages of Scripture in the tract; and it was ordered, that before it should be dispersed, the Scripture extracts should be expunged. There are now numerous congregations, composed chiefly of the population born in Madras: a Tract society, now in full operation; which, untrammelled by the censorship of the press, prepares original compositions in English, Tamil, Canarese, and Telinga; two Mission printing offices, engaged in publishing the Scriptures and tracts; and a Bible Society, conducted on the most scrupulous principles of simplicity and fidelity, with a sub-committee, called the committee of translations, strictly and impartially examining the correctness and idiomatic perspicuity of the new translations. Members of government not only lend their aid to build churches, but also patronize these measures; give the most open and efficient

countenance to general education, and hold out the highest favours to those who shall be zealous for the diffusion of useful knowledge. There is a Samaritan, or friend-in-need society, originated by the same humble servant of Christ, now cherished by the government, and by all classes of the community.* A branch of the Church Missionary Society is here established in diversified and successful operations; the London Missionary Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, go forth in mutual cooperation for the success of the same work. A Christian Mission has been established by American brethren, and has been welcomed with fraternal confidence. "Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye when the Lord shall bring again Zion."

If the reader will accompany me, we shall now walk about Zion, without the company of Major O. and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof. And let him not stop to dispute the correctness of this application of that hallowed name: since He who is faithful and able to bring to pass the saying which is written, promised, that "the mountain of the *Lord's* house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow into it." We come then to the Church Mission House: that long street down which we have passed is

* A Christian Instruction Society, and other benevolent associations, are actively directing the energies of all classes who love Jesus Christ.

Popham's Broadway; the buildings on either side are occupied for shops and offices. On the left hand we passed the principal bookseller's shop in Madras, the owner of which would derive improvement were he brought into competition with other tradesmen. His charges have not been less than two hundred per cent. above the original price: this is selfish; it displays no public spirit; it looks like avarice. That heavy, plain building, with a low belfry in the midst of the garden, is the Mission Chapel, built by government. Though it be not well suited for an English audience, it is crowded every Sabbath-day by respectable and devout Europeans and Eurasians. The missionary who has resided here during my time has been a zealous and fervent preacher; declared the truth in simplicity, and performed the duty of a faithful pastor: his labours have been much blessed among the people who understand English. He had more than enough to do, as the reader will conclude: besides superintending the schools on the premises, visiting the sick, and preaching in English, he was in charge of the mission Press; where not only all the branches of printing were conducted, native and English, but also all the apparatus of a type foundry was in frequent requisition, preparing matrixes and leads, letters and figures. The Society have since discontinued the Press. The Mission House also was supplied with a choice assortment of good books on sale, which any one might safely purchase, besides tracts, and portions or copies of the sacred Scriptures, in

the native languages. His colleague was not less zealous nor efficient; but the department to which he was devoted was a seminary for young natives at Perambore, whose labours might assist us in forming an estimate of what advance has been gained among the *natives*. But in the mean time, let us turn to the left, and go up this back lane—it is called Davidson-street; and here we shall find the London Missionary Society's chapel; that is it surrounded by plantain trees, and a few other shrubs and trees. It is the first of modern efforts which have been put forth for diffusing the gospel of Jesus among this people. These buildings to the right and left in the garden are the boys' and girls' free schools; they contain about 150 children, who are generally of a mixed descent; they are taught on Lancaster's and Bell's plan. To this institution Mr. De Monte, a Roman-catholic gentleman, left about 40*l.* per annum. That building to the south, with bells going ding-dong, is a Roman-catholic chapel, built by money advanced from the same purse. If you will enter with me to the left of the Missionary Chapel, I think you will be gratified.—Now; first seat yourself in that chair by the door, and parallel with the pulpit—there: do you remember Henry Martyn at Madras? He says in his journal, "After dinner went to Black Town, to Mr. Loveless's chapel. I sat in the air at the door, enjoying the blessed sound of the gospel on an Indian shore, and joining with much comfort in the song of divine praise." And afterwards he says, "My soul

was at first sore tried with desponding thoughts; but God wonderfully assisted me to trust in him for the wisdom of his dispensations. Truly, therefore, I will say again, 'Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.' How easy for God to do it; and it shall be done in due time: and even if I never shall see a native converted, God may design, by my patience and continuance in the work, to encourage future missionaries." Gracious and honoured youth! his memory is blessed; it is as perfume poured out; and long will it be as a sweet savour to the church. I love to place my feet on the ground which he trod, and to realize myself seated in the chair whence his soul soared in hallowed, pure, and exalted communion with the King of heaven; but much more dignified, rational, and incumbent, will it be for those who admire, to follow—to trace with their feet the same path, and to seek for their spirits the same exalted and pure converse.

This is just such a chapel as the climate requires—neat, and even elegant, without any gay ornament or unnecessary appendage. That row of Chunam pillars, white and smooth as polished marble, on either side support the roof, formed on the *bungalow*, or cottage style. The benches, with *rattan*, or split bamboo seats and backs, are suited to the heat of the climate; the wide doors on each side, and thorough draft, are requisite for air; and the spacious aisles in both wings are found close enough, when the thermometer varies from 90 and

95 to 100. The good man who built the house has been in the country nearly twenty years, supporting himself and family by his own industry, and acting as a gratuitous agent of the Society with which he has been connected. He is now proposing to return to his native land; his constitution is nearly exhausted.* Connected with the same mission are two other missionaries, and another chapel of nearly the same construction as this, but probably of better materials: besides twelve common schools for the natives, they have established an institution which they call a Central School, for the training of schoolmasters.

We shall now proceed towards Vepery; but between it and Mr. Loveless's chapel, we shall pass through the *Thieving Bazaar*. Probably many other cities have market-places which deserve to be so characterised; yet it is not every place that has the *honesty* thus to divulge its own character. As, in every place, petty thefts are committed, too often, by dishonest servants and hangers-on, this is a place to which they are brought; at least, such was the character of the bazaar, that gentlemen have frequently proceeded to this place and found what they have lost.—It is now more than a hundred years since the first faithful heralds of the cross, members of the Lutheran church, landed on this

* This honoured and excellent man returned, and still desiring to serve his blessed and glorious Master, he has continued, unobtrusively but consistently, to hold up the word of life as a faithful and humble minister of the gospel in H— B—.

coast; but still an apathy and supineness brood upon the inhabitants concerning their souls' best interest and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ; the possessions of this world, the things of time, engross their minds, their thoughts, their pursuits; they generally regard with callous indifference the most alarming or the most moving representations of the truth of the gospel; and any contrast between their own religion and what the Bible inculcates, is beheld or turned from with fearful levity. The poor people here are truly objects of pity; zealous effort should be accompanied by believing prayer, for they are emphatically dependent upon the agency of the Holy Spirit to arouse and convince them of their ways. Among the villagers and inhabitants of country places, a simplicity of character, a curiosity of disposition easily excitable, and an ingenuousness of mind, are often perceptible—all highly favourable to the preacher who would declare to them the tidings of salvation; but among the inhabitants of the city there is a wiliness of character, an apparent pliancy of disposition, and a very thorough knowledge of the defects of professing Christians, which are calculated to obstruct the unbiassed reception of divine truth. The difficulties in the latter case are great, but not insuperable to a heaven-directed arm; that Spirit that *moved* upon the face of the waters, and brought order out of confusion, and beauty out of the mingled elements, is omnipotent, and able to give a new heart to the very chief of sinners, and

to convert the most hardened characters, so that they shall become a willing people in the day of Messiah's power.

After the many descriptions which have been given of Indian society, the benevolent mind will regard it as a question of anxious inquiry, What will be the probable effect of bringing to bear upon such a population the apparatus of evangelical labour? May we warrantably reckon upon general success? As in the Valley of Vision, "Can these dry bones live?" The gratuitous advice and opinions submitted to the Protestant Churches on these interrogatories by a hoary-haired abbé, a member of that fraternity, whose impious designation, "The Society of Jesus," is a foul reproach upon the Saviour's name, would, wherever they are credited, blast every hope, and paralyze every exertion. "The experience I have gained," he says, "through a familiar intercourse with the natives of all castes, for a period of twenty-five years, entirely passed in their society.... has made me thoroughly acquainted with the insuperable obstacles that Christianity will ever have to encounter.... and it is my decided opinion, that not only the interests of the christian religion will never be improved among them, but also, that it will by little and little lose the small ground it has gained in better times; and in a short period, dwindle away to nothing. Are we not warranted, on beholding the unnatural and odious worship which prevails all over India, in thinking that these

unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema; have for ever rendered themselves unworthy of the Divine favour; have been entirely forsaken by God, and given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship? Under existing circumstances, there is no possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity." Du Bois' system found a help meet for it in the visionary vagaries and extravagant theory of the school of prophecy set up at Albury.

This testimony of one, who from early life had gone in and out among the people of India, as a missionary, "till his grey hairs warned him it was full time to think of his own concerns, and to return to his native soil, to get ready to give in his account to his Redeemer," will only influence those who wish to be excused. It would hence appear that, in the abbé's judgment, India, that foredoomed region, could afford no retreat where his balance-sheet might be prepared, whence he might nicely calculate how much merit there had been in conforming to the customs and prejudices of the Hindoos—in withholding from them the Scriptures of truth—in insinuating among them the dogmas of Rome—in counselling against, and dissuading from all evangelical efforts, those who would place before the heathen the sublime record, the soul-enlivening testimony which God has given of his Son; and in uttering such foul and slanderous misrepresentations as are contained in his writings.

I have obtained some acquaintance with the influence which christian principles exercise over the Hindoo character, and have enjoyed intimate and confidential intercourse with individuals of the nation, whose affections have been enlivened, and whose hopes have been inspired by the glowing representations and exhilarating promises of the divine record. I confess I have witnessed, too, the reproaches which fell upon Jesus in the house of his friends, the baneful influence of mere cold professional orthodoxy, and "the blasphemy of them who say they are Jews and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan." But wherever I have seen the hallowed doctrines of Christ applied to the conscience of the Hindoos, they have been made quick and powerful as the wisdom of God and the power of God. I have been forced indeed to weep over those who held the truth in unrighteousness; but I do feel and rejoice that, notwithstanding the divisions of caste, the influence of Brahminism, and the destructive operation of a gross ignorance and superstitious idolatry, "these dry bones may yet live."

To the west of Madras, not a mile from the city gates, were situated the populous suburbs, Chooley, Vepery, and Persewaukum. Every house of any size in these villages, is situated in the midst of garden ground; even the poorer native habitations enjoy their verandah as a shade from the sun, where the listless Hindoo may spread his mat, and pass the feverish hours of noon-day heat. Here, too,

many of their domestic occupations are performed. In a sequestered avenue leading through one of these villages, I first obtained a correct idea of the prophetic intimation given by our Lord, as an attendant on his coming, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill, one shall be taken and the other left." Under the verandah of a Hindoo dwelling, two women were seated on the chunam floor, a granite stone placed between them, twenty inches or two feet diameter, hollowed out to the depth of several inches; within this was placed a smaller stone of the same description, furnished with a handle, and perforated in the centre; through the hole the grain was conveyed, and by the handle the women turned the mill. By this simple process they prepared the flour which was required for their families.

Vepery has acquired celebrity, not from its scenery, its buildings, or its merchandise. No monuments of ancient fame adorn its structures, nor allusions in classical antiquity embellish its history: it is not, it never was, the dwelling-place of the wise men of this world, neither was it desolated by the ravages of war, nor trusted to as an outwork of the city defences. Yet it is embalmed in the memory of many, and its name will be graven on the tablet of ecclesiastical history, when battle scenes shall have faded from the memory, and classical antiquity shall be lost in oblivion; when monumental fabrics shall have crumbled before the feet and under the steps of destroying

time. Yes, when the fairest and the richest of nature's scenery shall be surpassed by the ornaments of Zion, the beauties of holiness, the bulwarks, the towers upon the city of our God, then will it be had in remembrance that in Vepery was planted a branch of the first Protestant mission sent to the Indies, in the earliest years of the eighteenth century: to this spot were directed the steps of the devoted servants of God who went forth as messengers of the gospel to heathen lands. This had been chosen and occupied as a sphere of christian enterprise by the companions of Zeigenbalg, and the fellow-labourers of Schwartz, of Fabricius and Jerické. By purchase, or endowment, from private liberality or royal munificence, had the agents of this mission obtained an extensive property in land and buildings, which formed the settlement of the Vepery mission. A pile of venerable architecture here claims our regard, more from the purposes to which it is devoted, than the beauty of its appearance, or the chasteness of the style. Here stood a house of prayer, whence the sacred melody of divine song was poured forth from Hindoo voices, in strains such as Luther sung; here the wandering feet of the straying idolater have often been directed into the way of peace, and his wayward steps reclaimed into the path of wisdom; here, in their own tongue, have the ignorant and the erring children of Brahma heard the wonderful works and the gracious words of God. That aged fabric has experienced decay; yet

parts of its walls stand, a memorial of God's goodness to this land, a monument of the faith of those who long ago slept in the dust, and a pledge of the coming prosperity, the certain progress of that cause which has been established in eternal truth. Its place has been supplied by a neat Gothic church, a tower, and the other ornaments which English munificence has learned to lavish upon the house of God.

I stood upon the site of the new building, when, amid the pomp and ceremony of official dignity and oriental display, the corner, the foundation-stone was laid, and memorials deposited, which should tell to future ages the era, the power which then reigned, and the treasury from which the resources for its erection were drawn. A yet more grateful sight, than either the pageantry or the ceremonies, was exhibited by the cheerful and intelligent countenances of the many children who had received instruction in the mission schools. They sang a hymn of praise to Him who has said, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations:" and "to this man will I look, even to him who is poor, and of a contrite spirit."—The scene was calculated to repress vanity, and to admonish the beholders of the transitory nature of all earthly things; while the believer was reminded, that if the earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Within view of the decayed edifice, which had long served as the

courts of the Lord—perhaps the eldest among the daughters of Zion in peninsular India, and almost upon the ruins thereof, was rearing a nobler and more capacious sanctuary for the worship of the God of heaven; while both buildings were surrounded by the many mansions of the dead—some graves just opened, and others whose monumental pillars were hastening to decay. Here a leafy palm waved its scanty shade over the tomb of an early convert, whose great grandchildren might now be joining in the song of praise and love; and there a few clustered cocoa-trees, sheltered the slumbering ashes of a faithful and esteemed missionary, whose memorial was on high, who had ceased from his labours, and whose works followed him; while here and there were scattered the remains of the poor, but pious dead, whose faith and hope had long ago been absorbed in the heavenly grace of holy love, and who, though unknown to the ear of fame, and undistinguished by the breath of praise among men, had been chosen of God and precious, and over whose sleeping dust angel-guards shall keep their cheerful vigils, till the bright morn of that joyful day when the grave shall give up the dead which are in it, and they shall rise to immortality and eternal life; while not a few, it may be, of those who lie around them, shall be raised to everlasting shame and contempt.

Within the same precincts are situated the principal school establishments of the mission, semi-

naries wherein are trained teachers for male and female schools; their Printing-office, also, which is well conducted, and employed almost exclusively in preparing elementary works for the schools, and providing a continued supply of religious tracts and portions of the sacred Scriptures. The whole Bible, and the Liturgy of the Church of England, have issued from this press in the Tamil, being translations by the missionaries of this society. Like a fountain of healing waters, whose streams flow in a thousand channels, carrying fertility and varied beauty, where once stagnant and noxious pools sent forth their corrupting and insalubrious vapours, these sources of intelligence and improvement are a blessing invaluable, and most suitable to a mission establishment. And if they do not secure the immediate fruit of a well-cultured garden, or of a rich pasturage, they will here and there refresh the eye of the traveller, and secure, now and then, a verdant spot, where, under the palm trees, the Asiatic, or other wanderer, may pitch his tent, and be led to anticipate further benefits, till he shall advance from strength to strength, and, finally come before the Lord in Zion. The bounds of the mission premises contain, likewise, the residences of the missionary brethren, who have hitherto been either Danes or Germans. They may be generally characterised as expert linguists, zealous labourers, modest men, and of excellent personal character. The senior missionary, Dr. Rottler, had been in the country more

than forty years, and reached the age of threescore years and ten. His exertions in the department of translations, and other philological labours, had been abundant—creditable to his talents and diligence, and highly satisfactory to those who may be accounted authorized judges. He was an easy, good tempered man, much beloved by the natives; not a rigid disciplinarian, not very exact in a recognition of the extent of knowledge, or of a spiritual and quickening apprehension of the truths of our holy faith, in candidates for the christian profession. Perhaps they found him too indulgent, and therefore was he liable to imposition from self-seeking pretenders, while the greater strictness of his colleagues appeared thereby as invidious and vexatious. He was of the Lutheran church. At the time of the ceremony, to which reference has been made, he had two fellow-labourers, besides native brethren, who were engaged in the service of the mission. One of them, Mr. Falké, died suddenly. Mr. Haubroe, who survived for some years, was truly a Christian—a zealous and faithful man, an Israelite indeed without guile, and whose affection and simplicity of character, motive, and aim, secured him the love and the confidence of all who knew him: if the men themselves be excepted, the mere nominal professors, for whose eternal welfare he was most solicitous.

On the margin, and in the vicinity of the mission property, live the natives who belong to this community; their houses generally provided by, or

rented from the mission. I think there might be three or four thousand of them, including children, male and female. They are part of that mission to which Mosheim refers, when he says, "This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but acquires daily new degrees of perfection under the munificent patronage of that excellent monarch, Christian, king of Denmark." Their resources are *now* drawn from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Of the whole community at the various mission stations, eight in number, there may be found a population of about twenty-five or thirty thousand natives. There is nothing here, certainly, after the labours of a century, commensurate with the sanguine wishes of pious benevolence, or equal to the specious and boasted success of popish legates, of Xavier, or the Madura missions. But there is a signal and essential difference between the religion of Christ in reality, and mere nominal and only apparent Christianity. Well:—'may it be affirmed that the Danish and German converts are better Christians, and more excel in sincerity and zeal, than the adherents of the popish missionaries?' This is a question which might be answered in the affirmative without much hazard, or saying a great deal in praise of the Vepery Christians. It is far from my purpose to pass an eulogy on the mass of nominal Christians here. I have lived on terms of intimacy with some of them, and have

narrowly watched their conduct, and the influence of their principles among them, and upon individual character; and though not personally employed in the management of their spiritual concerns, I have become conversant with the trials and perplexities of their pastors and teachers. I have likewise met the sneer of the worldling, and heard, when one of their number offered himself as a servant, the scoff uttered against the name of Jesus in the taunting proverb which was taken up, "he is a mere Chaverimootoo:" a name frequently borne by the Vepery people, and which literally signifies a *sweet Saviour*.

Nevertheless, I must testify they are regular in their attendance upon the means of christian instruction: their children are all scrupulously educated in scriptural principles, and trained to an observance of religious ordinances. Like the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, they have a great abhorrence of visible idolatry; they are separated from heathen idols and altars, and have no relic of image worship; they never join in heathen processions, but are in the midst of idolaters a peculiar people. They are, every family, furnished with copies or portions of the Scriptures; and many of them possess works of a devotional or instructive character, which have issued from their press. I shall elsewhere show it to be far otherwise with the Romanists. I will admit, that from among the descendants and connexions of early converts, and in consequence of the questionable and relaxed

principles of admission acted upon by some of the agents, there have sprung up many who bear the name and who wear the livery of Christ's service among this people, who are unhappily not the real servants of the Redeemer, whose affections are not engaged, or their principles secured by the conviction of the judgment and the love of the heart. It is also probable that there are more glaring derelictions from relative duty exhibited among them, than are perceptible to the eye of the superficial and unenlightened observer in the practices of the mere heathen. The nominally christian community may appear under fewer restraints, seem to enjoy more latitude of pleasure and indulgence; but paradoxical as it may be deemed, even less restriction of habits among those called Christians, may not always be a proof that they have declined in moral character and sensibilities by their adoption of a creed different from the heathen around them. They are not now fettered by the tyranny of custom or the bondage of caste; they are called to act from principles which they have but recently embraced; the divine law is an authority they have scarcely learned fully to recognise; and the maxim, "Thou God seest me," is yet barely legible on the tablet of their memory; but they are less under the fear of man as a rule of life, and it is now a matter of judgment whether they will act thus and thus. Is this to be regretted? The waters of a free, flowing, though troubled stream, may be more cheering, and indicative of a

more generous source, than the peaceful and glassy surface of a stagnant and marshy pool. The impetus which forced the embankment, and caused the confusion, may yet purify and render more inviting the current stream.

It is the peculiar and distinguished prerogative of the christian doctrine, as it was of its Divine Founder and most gracious Teacher, to subdue and reconcile the revolted and rebellious subject to a just allegiance; to enlist him under the banners of heaven's King; to furnish him with an armour, whose weapons are not carnal but spiritual; and to promise, that while he wrestles not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places; he shall be brought off as conqueror, and more than conqueror, through him who loved him. A power and an authority accompany it, sufficient to break the chains of sin's captivity, and to let the oppressed go free; to lead captivity captive, to open the prison doors to them that are bound, and to say to the prisoner, Go forth; to take those who walked according to the course of this world, and whose wayward wanderings were directed by the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,—who fulfilled the desires of the flesh and of the mind,—to wash them, to sanctify, and to justify them, in the name of the Lord Jesus; and forming them new creatures in him, to make them ready, a holy people prepared for the Lord. Its

cordial and gentle specifics are calculated to soothe the distractions of the moral maniac, to reclaim the perverted powers of the spiritual madman; to wean and extricate him from his dwellings among the tombs; to clothe him, and, restoring him to his right mind, place him at the feet of heavenly wisdom, where he may remain a monument of sovereign grace. In fact, christian principles are avowedly competent, by the Spirit of our God, to produce a transformation of moral character in the most degraded, to save to the very uttermost all that come unto God by Christ. The sun cannot show his presence without also diffusing his radiance, conveying his light, and illuminating his sphere; so neither can the truth shine in the heart without giving the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: and as personal improvement is an unavoidable attendant upon a reception of the truth in the love of it, so the beneficial influence will be still more perceptible on the face of a community generally actuated by the ennobling principles of christian truth: therefore when an amelioration of moral character is not developed, we are taught to regard the pretensions to christian principle as invalid and hypocritical. Such spurious profession and unsound characters may be expected in every country. I have met them in India, where they prove a vexation to the faithful servants of God, and a grievous reproach to Christianity and to evangelical exertions among the Hindoos. On suitable occa-

sions, however, they are reproved, censured, and sometimes removed from the community, as well as from the privileges of christian society. I was once present, and witnessed such a procedure; it was deeply affecting, and seemed well calculated to produce a salutary and sanctifying impression: indeed, all parties were moved to tears, and could not suppress the audible utterance of convulsive sobs, the genuine expression of their agonized sorrow and sympathy.

Appavoo was a native of a southern province. His parents were heathens; and though they had been careful to initiate their son into the customs and superstitions of their idolatry, they sent him to a mission school, superintended by Dr. Johns, a German missionary; and here he enjoyed the literary advantages as well as the salutary influence of christian teaching to appearance in vain, for he left his native province to travel northward an unreclaimed heathen—a worshipper of idol gods. In the district where he arrived, a missionary station had been occupied for fifteen years by the agents of one of the societies. Their labours had been rendered highly beneficial to many natives of India, who were descendants of the Portuguese, of Dutch, or English parents. Their exertions among the rising generation had been assiduous and faithful—their daily schools proved this; they had not left unemployed the means of diffusing knowledge by circulating the Scriptures and christian tracts. But no fruit had followed, no converts had been received

from among the heathen, the objects of their pity and prayerful anxiety. Theirs was a gate which had stood open continually, leading to the temple; their trumpet, too, sounded with an inviting, with no uncertain, sound; they lifted up Christ as an Ensign to the people, and entreated the heathen to seek, as they would surely find in him a rest which should be glorious. But no one listened,—no one entered,—none accepted or seemed to value the blessings or the proffered inheritance; and the watchmen were almost ready to say, 'We have laboured in vain, and spent our strength for nought;' till a gleam of sunshine, a ray of hope, lighted up the bow of promise, and recalled to their minds the faithfulness of a covenant God. Appavoo was induced to attend and hear the words of life; his mind appeared to expand, and his heart to rejoice in the reception of the truth. He evinced all the anxiety of a sincere inquirer; his interest increased, and he occupied himself in reading and prayer. Heathen associations and services were renounced; and to the joy of the missionaries, with their friends, he avowed his belief in Jesus—his love to him, and attachment to his service. Naturally intelligent and susceptible of impression, he became animated and enlightened; his progress gratified his teachers, and they fondly hoped he was under the direction of the Divine Spirit. Their joy was as sincere as if this one convert were an abundant reward for all their labour and watchings. They

agreed to admit him by baptism into the fellowship of the christian community, on a day of solemn service and grateful rejoicing. I do not say it was wise, but it was natural, that they should express their thankfulness in this manner. Yet should they have given such confident publicity to the proceeding? "He that goeth forth weeping and bearing precious seed, shall doubtless return again with joy, bringing his sheaves with him."

Appavoo was speedily, perhaps too soon, after his admission into the church, engaged in studies to qualify him for usefulness among his countrymen. He was beloved, probably caressed by the brethren as a brother in the Lord; he was rendered prominent, engaging in the secular affairs of the mission; and as a novice, he was liable to be puffed up and exposed to the snare of the devil. His society was courted by some nominal Christians, whose communications did him no good. The indolence of the native character began to prevail, and an indifference to relative duties, to the wants of his spiritually impoverished neighbours, and to the sacred obligations under which he had been specially brought: a declension too evident to every one but himself and his fond teacher made rapid inroads upon his affections, his religious observances and intercourse. Warnings were affectionately administered; the still small voice of christian reproof was whispered in his ear; but he had ceased to feel, to hearken, or to profit, and his religion declined to the shadow of a name.

He made shipwreck of a good conscience; and departing from christian integrity, he pursued a course so derogatory to the hallowed name, while the many reproofs administered appeared only to harden his neck, that measures more decided were deemed requisite and adopted. Examinations and conferences were held, so as if possible to disclose to himself, as well as to others, the state of his heart. In the presence of his brethren, a detail was given of the course which had been pursued, and the inauspicious results. He was affectionately admonished and reminded of the precepts of Scripture. He had no plea; he seemed to have no desire for delay. A calm, solemn, and heartfelt attention was rendered by every one present; and when he stood up, and the minister who presided proceeded to deliver the sentence of exclusion in the words of the apostle, *In the name of the Lord Jesus, to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:* the whole audience was dissolved in bitter grief, the minister's utterance was choked by excitement, and Appavoo himself melted down in seeming anguish. He who had so long hardened himself and refused warning now wept profusely, and the hope was indulged that the temporary sorrow would become the prelude to the contrition of the returning backslider, and his ultimate re-establishment in the ways of righteousness. But, alas! when we last looked upon him, we beheld only a monument of blighted hopes—a

beacon to warn both teachers and converts to live near to God, and depend more implicitly upon Divine agency in the great work.

The general character of Hindoo converts is decidedly improved. There are not among them the extremes of poverty and wealth which are exhibited among the idolatrous heathen; their families are not ruined or impoverished by the funeral obsequies of any relative; nor are the demands upon them for the support of religion exorbitant and unjust, as are the requirements for the heathen feasts and endless ceremonies: neither is their substance squandered in the gaudy displays which idolatrous pride and vanity require. With marked respect, generally, and gratitude towards their religious instructors, they display nothing of that slavish worship and reverence which Brahma's priests demand, and the superstitious Hindoo renders to the Brahmin. Litigation, of which the other Hindoos are madly fond, is rarely known among the converts; while, if any controversy on worldly, or even domestic matters, arise among them, they almost invariably repair to their religious instructors, whose good offices are continued till a reconciliation or adjustment is effected. The salutary influence of this pastoral interference I have seen descend into the affairs of relative and conjugal life with the happiest success. It may justly be said, that as their code of morals is drawn from a purer source than superstition or idolatry, so their intercourse is distinguishable amid all the

outbreakings of selfishness, for a far higher character in the performance of reciprocal and relative duties than the heathens or Roman Catholics. Indeed, such a conclusion may be deduced under the judgment of their enemies. And though many, too many individuals bear the christian name, in all its high and holy import, unworthily, and the occurrences of backsliding be, alas! too numerous for even a specification; yet there are again men, and women also, whose character has been transformed, whose principles bear the marks of a divine original and a sanctified heart, whose pursuits have been ennobled, whose conduct might cover with shame many a nominal and high professor in favoured Britain, and whose usefulness has been distinguished in the cause of philanthropy and in the progress of the gospel. It fills the eye and the heart of a benevolent man to contemplate with moral certainty the blessings which would descend upon the human race, could we convert the heathen world into even a nominal community of Christians, by the energy of evangelical principles, and subject the people to only an atmospheric influence of that godlike system. There would be gradually perceptible an improvement in their habits and enjoyments, their principles and pursuits, their characters and attainments, which would testify the heavenly origin—the adaptation of the gospel for all the children of men. Moreover, according to the degree of fidelity and spirituality in the agents, and their separation from worldly influence in their

plans and operations, so will be the reality and comparative character of the profession made by christian converts.

Just beyond Vepery, in an avenue to the right, is situated another mission establishment connected with the London Missionary Society. There is not a more suitable nor better-built place of worship in the Presidency than is Persewaukum chapel; and the evening congregation, composed chiefly of the descendants of Europeans, was generally numerous, and gaily dressed, when the service was conducted in English. The prayers of the Episcopal church used to be read here, but this practice was discontinued: the alteration may be traced to the increase of places where Episcopal missionaries officiate, on the one hand; and on the other, to the arrival of some missionaries of this Society, who were rather more sturdy dissenters than their predecessors. The missionary, through whose efforts the chapel was built, did not continue under the patronage of the Society. Envious tongues, or secret backbiters, traduced his name, and slandered his reputation, so that he was suspended from his functions, as his friends thought, most unjustly and injudiciously. Behold how good a thing, and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity! and how sad the reverse! how painful and injurious, when the watchmen do not see eye to eye: when Judah vexes Ephraim, and Ephraim envies Judah. The time is hastening when all the weakening divisions which afflict the church shall

be removed, and the breaches be healed, and the paths to dwell in shall be restored—when there shall be nothing to hurt or to destroy in all God's holy mountain.

After you pass through Persewaukum bazaar, among a few clean native houses, thrown, as if upon the verge of the village, to the left of the road, if you are a minute observer, you will single out one dwelling with signs of greater respectability and more easy circumstances than the others; seated within the verandah, you perceive a few children occupied with the sand and ollahs, the adjuncts of a village school. This is the habitation of William Roberts, a man of no every-day character, nor will his story be devoid of interest to the reader, if I can only infuse a moiety of what I felt on his behalf into my description of him. It is long since India has been traversed by professed Christians, and many opportunities have been presented, by which individuals have become familiarized with the general statements of holy Scripture, and the opposition which that sacred book expresses toward idolatrous practices. The wide prevalency of European influence throughout the chief cities in India, and the dependence of Europeans upon native services for domestic comfort, have led to more immediate and personal intercourse between Hindoos and Britons than the jealousy of Brahminical caste will recognise. Hence the love of wealth, and the allurements of *worldly* political power, have drawn not a few of the Hindoos of

distinction beyond the bounds prescribed by their ritual, and these constitute a distinct class of Hindoos. They keep up the external symbols of their castes, and are treated as caste men and undefiled, at a distance from the circle in which they were born and first moved; but they are not so swayed by the narrow prejudices of their system, nor so observant of the prescriptive abstinences in food, &c. which their laws require. William Roberts is a Hindoo of what is denominated the *Vullarum* caste, one of the most distinguished divisions of the Sudra tribe. He professes to have acquired a classical education, and to be thoroughly conversant in the learning of his people; he affects refinement in reading, and elegance in his diction. He reads the English and speaks it with considerable fluency; his pronunciation, however, and his acquaintance with the precise import of the language, are defective. So long ago as the latter end of the eighteenth century, he was engaged in the service of an Englishman, an officer of the army, whom he accompanied to England on his return to that country. By such a voyage he forfeited all title to the privileges of his caste; yet he returned again to India, and entered the employment of a Mr. H. of the civil department; with him, about the beginning of this century, he returned to England, and resided for some months in the vicinity of London. The female relatives of his master, he acknowledges, interested themselves much in his improvement, and taught him the Lord's Prayer,

the Creed, and the Catechism. He stated to me, that, upon his being able to repeat those, and expressing a desire for baptism, that rite was administered to him by the rector of P——, whereby he believed himself admitted into the christian church, and entitled to its privileges and blessings.

He must have been always a shrewd man; his observation and judgment of worldly matters, I should estimate of an acute and ready character. He admits he did not understand the things he professed, and perhaps the adoption of his master's creed had in it some connecting link with secular prospects. His return to India followed soon after, and his engagements continued, such as they had been, for years. A subsequent visit to England brought him into contact with a class of religionists, whose appeals to reason, whose rejection of all mysteries, and confidence in themselves, have brought them to a full and open renunciation of Christ's divinity; of the doctrine of the atonement; the existence of evil angels; and the inherent depravity of human nature. They bestowed some labour upon him, and regarded him as fit to act as their apostle; he imbibed their opinions, and entered into their plans; and, accepting their commission, quietly, and without display, entered upon his work; having returned to his native land, he settled himself in the vicinity of the Vepery mission. It is from among the nominalists of a christian community that proselytes to such a system will be found. He had erected a neat Pukkah

chapel in the centre of his little hamlet: his proceedings show great good sense and tact, worthy of a better cause. He performs a public service every Sabbath, and occasionally during the week. He has organized a society, which contains eighteen or twenty members, besides their children; and one of his people, under his superintendence, conducts a school for the young. He employs agents, on a cheap but efficient plan. The Europeans in the service of the Company retain among their attendants a native as butler: some of these are nominal Christians. When the masters remove from one station to another,—and there are frequent changes and journeys to the north, the south, and the west, over a surface of twelve or fifteen hundred miles,—the servants travel also. Into this circle Roberts insinuates himself, and from habits of early life, finds easy intercourse; he furnishes them with tracts, and even larger publications, in several of the languages spoken in the country: they have been traced at Mysore, Bellary, and at Hyderabad. When these agents are unfit to enter into discussion, they direct the inquirers to "the Unitarian Teacher at Madras."

It is an affecting consideration, that a man, whose thraldom from idolatry has been broken, whose mind has evidently expanded under the genial influence of revealed truth, whose powers might be rendered eminently subservient to the diffusion of sound, practical knowledge, should be again brought into bondage by a spirit seven

times worse than heathenism itself, and made an instrument of bold and impious hostility to the glory of Christ, among perishing idolaters. We may imagine he has seen the vanity of idols and the grossness of Brahminical delusion, and that he feels the dependence of man upon his God for the light of revelation; but the pride of his heart offers a daring resistance to the principles upon which alone an inspired standard can be perfectly or suitably established and received. To presume to penetrate the dazzling brightness of the sun in his noontide splendour, and to deny, because they are unseen, the movements of that orb by which the diurnal and annual revolutions are accomplished, comes far short of the folly which would rashly look through a revelation to the character of God, and the higher principles of his operations, and scornfully impugn their infinite, incomprehensible, and mysterious nature. The being who would scan the limits and mysteries of a divine record by his own conceptions, must be a God; and the man who refuses to receive, or renounces a doctrine of sacred Scripture, because it is above his reason or comprehension, has become a fool: so it has been with some who professed themselves to be wise among the Hindoos; so it was with Rammohun Roy; and so it is with William Roberts.

It was repeatedly in my power, while at the Presidency, to afford Roberts interviews and opportunities for inquiry, and, as I hoped, direction. It seemed to me desirable to reclaim him from his

own errors, and at all times to evince a kindly feeling of anxious interest for him, rather than a harsh and distant treatment. On one occasion I introduced my friend Dr. S—— to him, when we had a long and animated discussion. He brought with him "the *Improved* Version," and his own copy of the Tamil Scriptures; the latter bore evident marks of having been diligently compared. It had marginal references, with which he discovered a ready familiarity. He strenuously urged the Socinian objections to the doctrines of the Cross, and boldly denied the *existence* of the devil as an intelligent being, or the reality of eternal punishment. He asserted that the expressions used in Scripture concerning Satan, only meant the destruction of evil. Dr. S— urged some passages upon his conscience with peculiar force; he trembled under their sentence; he acknowledged that they possessed a power which he had not previously felt; that he had not yet studied them, but would consider their import. He bowed with us in prayer, and seemed to join in the supplications. There was a lamentable display of the pride of human nature, and the hostility of the human heart to the doctrines of evangelical godliness. But it would have betrayed a conscious weakness in our cause to have shrunk from the collision; and it would have been an unphilosophical, not to say unchristian, though a *forcible* argument, to *horse-whip* the poor man, or bring him within the toils of the civil power, as some injudiciously suggested ought to be

done. The weapons of the servant of God are not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty through the Spirit. At a subsequent interview, he brought eight or ten of his adherents, while he was encountered by several native Christians, mighty in the Scriptures. This opened the way for discussion between him and them, in the presence of his own people and others, which I believe was useful to several members of his community, who publicly renounced the sentiments whereby they had been denying the Lord that bought them. The poor man's principles seemed unchanged: it is not improbable he was flattered, and perhaps inflated, by the attention which was paid him. He afterward reported the conversation in a most distorted manner: at least so it was printed by the Unitarian Missionary Association in London.

When the principles of the oracles of God come in collision with the dark dogmas of heathenism, a moral convulsion must necessarily ensue; a revolutionary process in things held sacred will pervade the whole community; and in the first breaking up of a long-established idolatry, in the invasion of prescriptive rights, and the liberation of the human mind from its severe bondage and servility,—when the immortal and intelligent principle has burst the bonds of human authority, and, feeling its liberty, a long-lost birthright, restored, stretches forth a puissant power to grasp the full prerogative of choice and direction,—it will not be wonderful if some daring spirits encroach upon what should be

held inviolable, and venture within the barriers of the sacred mount.

Pursuing a northern direction in front of Roberts's house, by a retired rural ride you reach Perambore. I will invite the company of my reader to this suburban village, that his attention may be directed to two objects. You perceive, then, in this open field by the way side to the right and to the left, small mounds of smouldering ashes, or of recently-ignited fuel, varying from five to eight feet in length, and their breadth and height three or four feet. You see, too, scattered here and there, small blocks of granite bedded in the earth, and occasionally small ornamental edifices, seemingly altars, or monuments. — These mounds cover the remains of Hindoos lately deceased, brought here for *burning*. The evening after, or within twenty-four hours of a Hindoo's death, he is laid upon his bier; and, borne upon the shoulders of four or six men, he is carried forth, preceded by flambeaux and the coolerah horn. This instrument,—a long tube, which, when blown, emits a most discordant and dismal tone,—is a fit but sad accompaniment of funereal processions; the train is closed by the followers and friends. When they arrive at the burning field, the body is taken from the litter and laid upon a bed of fuel, composed principally of the cakes of cow-dung, and is covered with the same material. The fire is not designed to burn briskly—the cremation is slow, but sure. In the darkness of the night, especially

when the wind is boisterous, the funeral fires shed a truly sombre reflection upon these fields of burning: the flickering fire is buffeted by the stormy blast, and it is a melancholy picture of the valley of the shadow of death. At the expiration of two days, or during the third, the whole body has been consumed to ashes, and the relatives then come to gather the remains, and deposit them where the burning has been. These granite slabs and monumental altars are memorials erected by those who, being disposed, were able to incur the necessary charges as a tribute to the memory of departed friendship. I once saw it proposed that this mode of sepulture should be introduced into large cities in Britain. The whole process is certainly not very abhorrent to your feelings, when it is exhibited to your view. How many, from generation to generation, have been laid on this field,—this altar of death and speedy dissolution! Yet you can pass over it without that sepulchral gloom, that humid air of mortality, which you must breathe in a burying-ground; and do not the ashes slumber as surely and undisturbed as in the mausoleum, or within the bars and bolts of the silent tomb? The confused relics of humanity are truly not presented to the moralizing visitor as the memorials of a promiscuous multitude; yet you may contemplate the scene with profit while you tread the field, whose soil is impregnated with the purified ashes of the rich and poor, the young and the old: without the lines of separation which vain man would draw in

a present world. But to the Christian the spectacle here displayed is peculiarly affecting; so many dead have died without a good hope—no christian dust sleeps here; and yet ten thousand spirits, immortal and responsible, whose clay tabernacle has been reduced and scattered here, have entered upon a vast eternity, aliens from God, trusting to a lie, obnoxious to the sentence of a just and holy God, and doomed, according to the principles of unbending rectitude. O what a ghastly scene would now be exhibited were this the day when death and hell shall give up the dead which are in them!—But turn to the living, and let them know that they must die!

Turn we then from this region of the valley of the shadow of death, and these glimmering fires, which serve only to render the appalling aspect of the destroying enemy more terribly visible; and look towards one of the outposts of Zion, on which the light of the cross is reflected, as an ensign for the people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of God's people Israel.—Now we are within the compound of the Perambore seminary, connected with the Church Missionary Society. This is certainly the most commodious missionary residence at the presidency; the grounds are planted, and even watered, and are extensive almost as an European demesne. This was previously the property of Mr. T——, a Madras civilian, a christian man, whose attachment to the missionary cause taught him to make sacrifices, and when he

returned to England his house and grounds were rented at a moderate rate to the missionary Mr. S——. This gentleman was in the enjoyment of the comforts of domestic life when I first visited this station; he was afterwards solitary and bereaved: his wife, an endeared christian woman, sailed for her native country, and died at sea. He had acquired a knowledge of Tamil, the language vernacular to the aborigines of this coast, sufficient to qualify him to read the prayers of the Church of England, and to superintend the studies of native youth. The corresponding committee of this Society entrusted to his care from eighteen to twenty-two young men, chiefly natives of other stations, who either by parentage had become allied to the church, or had, by early instruction, been induced to renounce heathenism. He had native assistants for the languages and the routine of religious instruction; but all that a European was supposed to excel in was left for his province. Generally they were merely nominal Christians. Mr. S—— thought the Brahminical divisions of caste worldly, and calculated to obstruct individual progress, and friendly feeling among all.

There are some gentlemen in the country who still think that caste need not be abolished; nor should the abandonment of it be made a *sine qua non* of proselytism: they view it merely as a civil distinction, and harmless as to its bearing upon the christianizing of natives. They do not seem to apprehend that no native can retain caste in the esteem

of his heathen countrymen after abandoning his religion; and that caste among nominal Christians can only be a distinction vexatious to themselves, a relic of an idolatrous state, and discountenanced by every principle of Christianity. They do not perceive that a Brahmin would consider the water of baptism polluted if administered by others than Brahminical hands, and the elements of the sacred supper defiled if previously tasted by an European missionary. Neither do they reflect that it is any thing but a proof of a high state of practical Christianity, when much anxiety exists for maintaining the separating distinctions of worldly society among the family of God's children. This is an important and has been held a debateable subject. The pride of secular distinction is always too predominant among men; it was so among some of these students. Among the corresponding committee were some gentlemen who entertained a partiality for the retention of caste. Mr. S—— wished to uproot it: the students had been previously allowed to retain their notions, and now revolted at the plans of the missionary, complained that their food was prepared by a man of lower caste than themselves, and threatened not to eat it. Their tutor disapproved so far of their scruples as to direct that they should eat *along with* their cook. Several of the young men indulged so far their resentment as to leave the institution and travel homewards. Most of them, however, were reclaimed, and restored to enjoy the inestimable

advantages of scriptural and evangelical instruction from their friend and tutor. Generally they seemed strongly attached to him, and his labours had not been in vain in the Lord.

One of the pupils had been brought to a sudden death at the time of my visit; but his teacher hoped he died in the Faith. The young man went into one of the apartments allotted for the seminarists, and reaching his hand up to a shelf for a book, he felt a sensation at the point of his finger, as if he had been pricked with a pin or other sharp instrument. In less than a quarter of an hour his body began to swell, especially the glands of his throat; he was attacked with violent thirst, but could not drink, his eyes rolled in feverish agitation, spasmodic symptoms prevailed, and within fifteen minutes more, in resistance of all remedies that could be applied, the poor lad expired in the greatest agony. The recess where his hand had been wounded was searched, and a small but deadly serpent was found coiled up and ready to inflict a death sting in a similar manner; but it had already fulfilled its commission, and became itself the victim in its turn. The event was not suffered to pass without instruction; and it may be hoped that the death of the poor sufferer would become the instrument of life to some of the survivors. They were placed under tuition here, that they might become the teachers of others, and be employed as schoolmasters, or rise to even higher office and greater usefulness as preachers to their country-

men. In such a station Mr. S—— enjoyed advantages, which few ministers at home possess, of being extensively useful, and of diffusing a savour of Christ's love among his fellow-men. He obtained an appointment as a Company's chaplain, and soon after died. Such seminaries seem the most efficient instruments of assailing heathenism in these lands. Should a missionary, out of twenty pupils, succeed in preparing only two native preachers of the gospel, he is conferring a greater benefit on the people and the cause of religion, than if he could draw forth, qualify, and support six European missionaries. And it is one of the auspicious indications of a spreading gospel, and that it will soon cover the land, that these nurseries of piety and sound knowledge are increasing throughout the country.

A plain, arid and sandy, lies between the northern gate of Black Town and Perambore. The path into town is winding, and in some places picturesque; but within the gates the habitations are mean and wretched; mud walls, thatched with palmyra leaves, constitute the windowless and rude hovels of the native poor. A few instances of greater comfort, with something approaching to cleanliness, and a quiet neatness, occur on the line of streets till we approach the Black Town jail. This building is low and apparently of contracted dimensions; but if we may judge of the rest from the governor's apartments, even the prison-house of the Europeans is a palace compared with the neighbouring huts of the Hindoos. Proceeding

along the street on which it stands to the south, we come again on Popham's Broadway. The first object which next attracts our attention is the *Wesleyan Mission Chapel.*

In the whole range of history few public characters ever succeeded so far as John Wesley did in making the most of every thing; in turning to the advantage of his cause existing circumstances, and seizing occasion by the fore-lock. He was not a jesuit, a Xavier, or a Dr. Francia, dictator of Paraguay. He was not a Laud or a Whitefield. It is a phenomenon rare in the history of systems or of economics, how completely he has imbued with his own character the denomination distinguished by his name, and how intimately and thoroughly he lives in the principles and proceedings of his own body. Equally politic with Loyola, more sagacious, and farther sighted than his own kinsman, the martial duke; but more rational and exalted, more intelligent, estimable, and holy in the object of his ambition than either, he has reared for himself a monumental pillar, and wrought for his head a wreath which shall last so long as there is a leaf of history, or a space in time allotted for the records of man and the annals of the church. He addressed a letter to the papists, and complimented their virtues; he respected their saints; he humoured their weaknesses, and gave them abundant credit for all the excellences he could discover in their system, or in the character of the choice members of their church. It is hard to determine whether he would

have refused the unction of *respect* to his "Holiness" the Pope, or the occasional use of their consecrated vestments and *seven* sacraments, had he imagined it would allure the hierarchy and the laity of Rome to listen to his silver pipe, to hear the accents of mercy in the sighs and groans of Calvary, and to learn the value of the soul by the blood of the cross, and the freeness of salvation by the dignity and infinite love of Him who suffered on it.

So far as his system can be embodied in its members, he is represented in all quarters of the globe; and his disciples pitch his standard and fight under his banner in the north and in the south, in the west and in the east: in islands and on the continents, among civilized and among savage men, the *Wesleyan Mission chapels* are everywhere conspicuous. In war and in peace, at home and abroad, in almost every regiment of the British Line, there are class-leaders, and zealous propagators of his opinions. Do I condemn them in this? If I did, they might well say, "Who art thou that judgest? It is a small matter for us to be judged in man's day." I mention only the fact, and let it speak.—Besides this chapel,—which, if not elegant, is commodious and respectable,—in Popham's Broadway, a *Wesleyan Mission House*, with grounds and every suitable convenience for missionary purposes, has been provided in the environs of Miliapore, between three and four miles from their Black Town Chapel. They have a chapel at Royapettah, and another at St. Thomé. They have chapels and stations at

St. Thomas's Mount, at Negapatam, Melnattam, and Manaargoody to the south, and at Bangalore and Mysore to the west. Madras was chosen as their head quarters for the peninsula, and was first occupied.

Dr. Coke had proved himself an eminently devoted and zealous member of the Wesleyan denomination, and an earnest advocate of foreign missions. With liberality, he consecrated much worldly substance, and his personal services to this work. At the beginning of 1814, he sailed for India, accompanied by six Wesleyan preachers, to commence a mission in Ceylon. The good man died on his passage; but his associates reached the scene of their destined labours. Mr. James Lynch, one of the six preachers, was deputed to Madras, and reached the presidency at the beginning of the year 1817. For about eight years he continued his industrious course, and was the main spring of the subsequent movements. Some of his colleagues remained when he returned to England, but none of them were more willing to spend or be spent in the cause, or could, in despite of his unpolished manner and homely exterior, be more respected by the people among whom he moved. Usually three missionaries with native or country-born assistants occupy this station; their services and itinerancies are frequent, and their intercourse with the European soldiery is quite as extensive as is their strictly missionary labour. While I knew them they had several communicants who had left

the Church of Rome; one was a Franciscan, who had travelled as a begging friar from a monastery at Goa, and was now employed as a Portuguese preacher. More recently they reckon their missionaries for all their peninsular stations at fifteen, their teachers in schools at twenty-four, and their *members* in society at three hundred and fifty. These calculations include British soldiers, and embrace such as may be only hopeful as well as those who may be "*pressing into the kingdom of heaven*," or are "*happy in God.*" Some of their members have excited the most lively interest, and seem to have been most wonderful instances of Divine mercy. I shall record the outline of the biography of one, given by himself when he was called to witness a good confession before many witnesses. He was publicly baptized in the Wesleyan Chapel, Popham's Broadway, on the first Sunday in August, 1836. His former idolatrous associates had first attempted to prevent his interviews with the missionary, and it was feared meditated his death by violence, and he fled for refuge to the Mission House. As he entered this asylum he declared, "Now I cast myself upon God's providence and this mission, and hope never to be forsaken. May the Lord Jesus help me!" He was between fifty and sixty years of age, and venerable in appearance. An effort was then made to carry him off, and, as he feared, to beat him to death; and so long as they thought to restore him to his place as a leader of heathenism, or prevent

his accession to the christian party, they were watchful for any means to remove him. For many years no razor had come upon his beard. He now cut off his hair and beard, and appeared for the first time in the Mission Chapel divested of his heathen robes, on the second Sunday of July. It was ascertained by his heathen connexions that he was soon to be baptized; and having determined to carry him off either *dead or alive,* they were understood to have contemplated an attack upon the Mission House. This led to the precaution of stationing a police force within the premises on the previous night. The service of baptism was next morning performed in the Mission Chapel, Black Town. The congregation was large, and intensely excited: to witness the voluntary and deliberate act of such a man renouncing heathenism, was interesting and deeply affecting. Before them all he surrendered his *yellow robes,* the sacred locks of hair, and the *lingam,* one of the most impure emblems of his heathen attainments and official distinction. He then kneeled down, having received from the minister a copy of the sacred Scriptures and of the English Liturgy in the Tamil language; a person deputed for the occasion audibly pronounced "WESLEY ABRAHAM," and the convert was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Arumuga Tambiran (a religious mendicant), was his heathen designation; and he thus related the circumstances of his early life, his attainments as a

heathen, and his adoption of the christian name:—
"I am well known in Madras, having resided in this city since 1824. I was born in the province of Tanjore, in the city of Caroovi. My father was named Sokkalinga Moodeliar, and died when I was eight years of age; my mother had died seven days after my birth. As an orphan I was taken under the protection of Nana Sampanda Pandaram, one of my relations, who was a great Gooroo and teacher of the heathen, an overseer of all the Choultries and houses of hospitality for pilgrims from Ramiseram, in the south, to Casi, near Bengal, in the north. He appointed me, after the usual customs, to the office of tambiran in the sect of Seeva, when I was invested with the yellow robes, neck-beads, holy ashes, and other insignia suitable to that office held sacred. He instructed me for seven years in all the branches of Tamil literature. At the age of sixteen I proceeded on pilgrimage, with ten other persons of the same sect of Seeva, to visit holy places, and bathe in holy waters. For many years I was engaged in travelling throughout my native country: till I had visited every celebrated place in Trichinopoly and Mysore, in Malabar and the Coorg country, at the sources of the Cavery and the Kistna, in Sattara and Hyderabad, as far northward as Delhi, and the sources of the Ganges. At Cashi, as far north as the 29th degree, and as far east as the 83d, I stayed three years bathing in the reputed holy Ganges, and performing all the ceremonies usual at that consecrated

place. Three of my companions had perished by fever, and two had been devoured by tigers. I travelled to the mouths of the Ganges, by Calcutta, to Juggernauth, and along the coast by Masulipatam to Madras. I visited all the places reckoned holy in the south of India, Trivalloor and Tripetty, Chillambram, and Karrikal, with many other stations of sanctity. I went by Ramiseram to Ceylon, and traversed that island, visiting all its celebrated shrines which I could find, and then returned to the continent. Fifty years of my life have thus been spent. Our numbers had decreased by fevers and wild beasts, till at length I am the only one left alive of the eleven persons who set out in these weary pilgrimages, a monument of God's love and mercy. I have as a heathen leader taught many disciples, as is well known. I sought all heathen books, but found *nothing for the soul.* I found nothing in heathen books, in heathen temples, in heathen ceremonies, to *satisfy the mind.* I met with this minister (alluding to Mr. Carver), and he opened to my understanding the way of salvation, the treasures of the Scriptures; they suited my dissatisfied heart. I went again and again to the missionary; I determined to abandon heathenism. By heathenism I got money in abundance, and honour. I was worshipped by my disciples; but my soul began to shrink back at the blasphemy against the God of whom I had heard. I knew not how to escape from my heathen friends and disciples, who were about me on every side,

when this minister offered me an asylum, a place in the mission premises. There I went of my own free choice; there I was when the heathen made violent efforts to carry me away; there I wish to remain, and be baptized in the name of Jesus, to teach others also of this Saviour, as some little attempt to remedy the evils of having taught so many heathen disciples a false way in time past."

It has been already hinted that it is hazardous, and not always judicious, to give great prominence to the conversion or public profession of new proselytes: publicity was not sought, though neither was it shunned, by primitive apostles or evangelists. Cornelius and his household were baptized in the house of the centurion of the Italian band; and the jailer was baptized within the prison at the dead hour of the night. The *éclat* may be followed with disappointment and much sorrow. Every thing should be done that will lead the disciple to walk *humbly* with his God, with lowliness and meekness; so that while he thinketh he standeth, he may take heed lest he fall. A few months after his baptism, "Wesley Abraham" disappeared from the Mission House, and went among a body of respectable native heathens, in whose presence he threw off the dress which he received at his baptism, and resumed the garment of a pandaram—a heathen devotee. Subsequently, however, he returned to the missionaries, assuring them that his departure was the result of treachery and force on the part of others, and that he availed himself of

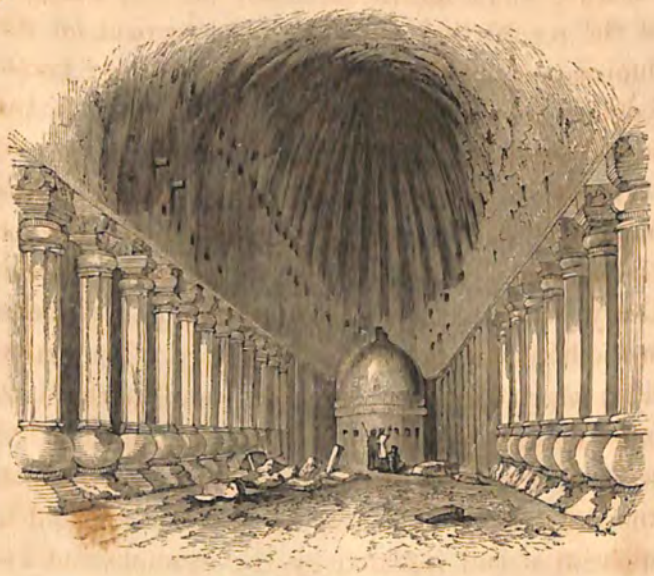
the first opportunity of being restored. He afterwards maintained a profession of Christianity till the hour of his death, on the 7th of July, 1837, when he closed his race, according to the pleasant hope of his missionary friend, in the faith of the gospel of Christ.

In the year 1812 the zeal of American Christians glowed with a holy ardour for the conversion of the idolaters in eastern lands; and some of their most devoted agents went forth to India, that they might participate in the honour of teaching the people of Hindostan to stretch out their hands unto God. Newell and Price, Gordon Hall and Judson, were pioneers in this march upon the dominion of the power of darkness. Mrs. Judson and Mrs. H. Newell have left their memories sweetly embalmed in the records of the church; and though dead, they yet speak for India to many people. The churches of Burmah and Western India will, in future times, commemorate their love and faith. Gordon Hall was the chief speaker of those who lifted their voice for *six hundred millions of perishing heathen.* His is a name too precious to perish: we shall meet him hereafter in our eastern wanderings. The American mission to Ceylon was begun in 1816. Many of the primary agents have gone down to the dust. Another band of gifted and consecrated missionaries joined in 1819; the Winslows, the Woodwards, the Scudders, and Spauldings, were men who gave their hearts to the work. A Richards and a Warren, a Woodward, a

Mrs. Winslow, and a Mrs. Poor, were beloved and faithful: all faithful in their lives; and having closed their period of earthly service, have ceased from their labours, and their works follow them, as is the blessedness promised to the dead who die in the Lord. A division of the same band has encamped on the shores of Coromandel. Mr. Poor occupies Madura; Mr. Apthorp fills a station at Ramnad; and Dr. Scudder and Mr. Winslow have removed to Madras. It is now almost fifteen years since I had the gratification to welcome Dr. Scudder on his first visit to Madras, to the rites of hospitality and the affection of my heart: he was then an invalid, but not entirely disabled from occasional service. His society was calculated to endear him to the warmest friendship; his piety was unaffected and unconstrained; his liberality was truly catholic; and his charity was ingenuous and pure. A cultivated and enlarged mind, enlightened and christian principle, a zeal according to knowledge, and a fidelity and vigilance ever active, perfumed by a rich and odorous unction of the Holy Spirit, rendered his visit a season of hallowed converse, and a means of spiritual refreshing. He joined in some occasional services, and took part in the ordination of the present missionary at Cuddapah. He left a savour of good things behind him; and warranted the expectation, that, should he ever return, he would come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace, his labours would be useful, and, it might be hoped, not in vain in the Lord. It is

well that he should have the management of a large printing establishment at Madras. It is in character with his past conduct that his European colleagues should be able to testify, "Our friend, the Rev. Dr. Scudder, of the American Missionary Society, is an active distributor of Scriptures and tracts, not only in Madras, but in the interior of the country. He takes long tours, with large supplies of these precious books, for the express purpose of scattering the word of God. We printed 10,000 copies of one good tract, expressly for Dr. Scudder, some time ago; and these, together with others, have been distributed by him in the towns and villages west and south-west of Madras. 'Blessed are they that sow beside all waters. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' The blessing of the Lord be upon you. We bless you in the name of the Lord. Amen."

The missionary brethren have arranged their division of labour. The American evangelists have occupied Royaporum as their district—a suburb of the presidency lying northward along the shore. The gate leading hither passes by the Monygar Choultry. Ten thousand poor idolaters invite their zealous labours here; while they are also surrounded by many nominal Christians, born in the country, and requiring instruction.



INTERIOR OF A CAVE TEMPLE AT SALSETTE

ASIATIC ANTIQUITY AND EASTERN COMMERCE.

A LIFETIME might be spent in the study of the vernacular literature and the native histories of India. Some of our most learned linguists, our enthusiastic and extensive oriental scholars, after stripping the veil from antiquity, unrolling and deciphering the mystic symbols and legendary fables of traditionary history, and exploring the recesses and labyrinths of a consecrated language, have confessed, or proved too plainly, that there were facts and dates which they could but dimly

trace, but which lay at the foundation of Hindoo history—which formed in reality the very alphabet of the record they had attempted to read for the information of others, and without a clearer knowledge of which all the imagery and tales in the sacred writings of the Eastern mythology were as so many inexplicable hieroglyphics, a hand-writing upon the wall, which they could not interpret. Halhed and Sir W. Jones, Richardson and Dr. Carey, Ward and Du Bois, have been only pioneers in the literary paths of Asiatic history. The authorities who shall be competent to complete the work must be men raised up in India, trained in native seats of learning, qualified by early and familiar knowledge of Hindoo languages, and stimulated to application and research by the example and encouragement of European coadjutors. We do not pretend to extensive attainments in this field, nor yet of voluminous reading, though our studies, pursued in those countries, were turned into such paths as indicated the nearest approach to truth and certainty. We shall now embody in brief outline what may have been culled in connexion with India, incidentally accompanying it with the results of our personal observation.

The learned and laborious Heeren affirms, that it was "in Asia the first dawn of history broke forth; and during succeeding ages, when Africa was involved in almost total obscurity, from which Europe herself was slowly disengaged, there rested upon Asia a degree of light, which, if it did not

illuminate equally all the great events of which that continent was the theatre, served at least to illustrate their general course, and to furnish important *data* toward the history of the species. The further we advance in such inquiries, the more that we compare the various traditions of different nations respecting their several origins and ancient histories, the better we are enabled to contrast the diversities of their several characters, the more do we find ourselves constantly directed to Asia as the central point, the more are we impressed with the conviction that in that great continent was the cradle of mankind:"—however favourable or unfavourable may have been the influence of remote climates to ennoble or depress the original stock. While he also thinks, that, if we trace the arts and sciences to their primal principles, we shall uniformly be recalled to the East as their place of origin; and we shall discover in the same quarter the native seat of all religions at any time predominant in the world. Of her physical diversity and profusion the same writer exclaims—"How vast a variety reigns in Asia! How different is the face of nature in the wide steppes of the Mongols, in the flowery vales of Cashmere, and the sultry flats of Bengal; or again, in the perfumed groves of Ceylon, the snowy mountains of Siberia, and the shores of the Arctic Ocean! Added to all this, Asia is richly furnished with every facility for commerce, by intercourse from without and through her populous regions. Vast gulfs, which stretch

into the interior and receive the embouchures of mighty rivers, are formed by the surrounding seas upon all the coasts, and especially on her southern shores. With the exception of a few arid tracts, or mountainous regions, the whole country now called British India has been blessed with the choicest gifts of nature, not only enjoying a temperate climate in the greatest part, but fertilized by a multitude of rivers of all sizes. The treasures of the vegetable world are there found in the utmost profusion and variety; and the animal creation, whether birds, quadrupeds, or insects, there attain their greatest perfection; the cotton-plant and silk-worm are natives of the soil; the most rare and costly spices and aromatics are peculiar to this region; gold, precious stones, and pearls abound." Such advantages would naturally lead, in the earliest times, to social and cultivated intercourse, instead of the pastoral and wandering habits of the Arab tribes: history proves how speedily and constantly the inhabitants availed themselves of their privileges. It was in Asia that the second parent of the human race planted a vine and became a husbandman; there, too, Nimrod built his city; and thus tillage, and the establishment of civic governments and political communities, commenced in Asia. Generation after generation has rolled on as succeeding waves—revolutions have followed revolutions — conquerors and warlike legions have traversed and desolated these fertile countries age after age. Kingdoms and monarchies

have arisen and decayed; and yet the same character has been constantly transmitted to every revolving era. Succeeding dynasties, though rising on the ruins of predecessors, have breathed the same spirit, and settled down into the same modes of government, and each successive posterity has borne the image of its parentage, even till modern times. The mighty empires which then started into being, were not founded in the same manner either with the kingdoms in Europe, or with the European dominions recently organized in India.

The general opinion of ancient, as well as of modern, authorities, is unanimous in representing the Hindoos as among the earliest, if not indeed the very earliest civilized nation in the world; and this universal opinion of their high antiquity is not dependent on their own assumptions, as has been clearly demonstrated by the indefatigable scholar whom we have already cited; while this antiquity evidently rises to a period many hundred years prior to our era, — as many centuries before as have succeeded the birth of Christ. They exhibited the same refinement and civilization at the time of the Macedonian invasion as they do now; and their productions and merchandise were nearly as well known, and as much valued during the Babylonish captivity of Israel, as they have ever been since. Dr. Vincent's translation of Ezekiel's eloquent and wonderful denunciations against Tyrus presents to the reader "the tusks of ivory," "the gold and precious

stones" of India, the rich cloths for decorating horsemen or chariots, which were received from the Gulf of Persia; while the Assyrians brought fine manufactures, blue cloth and broidered work, or fabrics of various colours in chests of cedar, bound with cords, containing rich apparel. Dr. Vincent inquires with evident propriety, "May not these be the fabrics of India, first brought to Assyria by the Gulf of Persia, or by caravans from Karmania and the Indus, and then conveyed by the Assyrians in other caravans to Tyre and Sidon?" What are the Cashmere shawls, the Agra cottons, the Arnee muslins, and the Chinese silks, but the same manufactures still? As is their commerce, so is their literature—an unchanging fragment of their early history, and documentary evidence of their high antiquity. The language which is now the depository of their religion, and the organ of their institutes, was a dead language long ere any modern European language was spoken; while the dialects now used by the Hindoos contain works of undoubted antiquity, not as translations, but original productions. The innovations upon religion, which may be traced in the transmutations of their sculptured monuments, in their obsolete temples and their scattered and persecuted sectaries, point to a very remote antiquity. When we visit their grotto temples, excavated some of them from the solid and subterranean rock, others of them partly excavated and partly reared by solid piles of stone, and other edifices, properly so called,

consisting wholly of artificial structures, and each series indicating a progress in civilization and a modification of worship and supposed divine honours; when, moreover, we perceive that the inscriptions in the earliest of their temples cannot be deciphered, while the language of others can with probability be explained; that the deities of the later temples are known by the common people, and worshipped throughout the whole land, while the presumed divinities of the earlier excavations have no worshippers except among expatriated and exiled devotees; we are constrained to confess that the Hindoos must have rapidly assumed their present character, and that many generations *must have* passed away since they were set among the nations of the earth.

The German philosopher, Heeren, has never personally inspected those monuments of ancient India, but he has well studied the writings of others who have explored their ruined fragments; and it is surprising with what accuracy his conceptions have been formed, whilst his reasonings and deductions are usually the most correct and profound. Although as an eye-witness we have explored some of their deepest recesses, and examined their curious workmanship, we cannot enlarge his descriptions, or add to his correctness; though in some matters of opinion we may not fully coincide with him. We are disposed, for instance, to give priority (as to the date when constructed) to the Carli excavations, half way between Bombay and Poona. The details

of that grotto are most finished, though it be smaller than some others; it is, moreover, *exclusively* dedicated to the honour of *Buddha*, and the ritual of the Buddhists, a proscribed sect in India. In the order of time we would fix upon the temple of Kenneri, in the island of Salsette, as a subsequent excavation. Here there is a *mixture* of *Buddhist* and *Brahminical* emblems; the former perhaps the original destination of the cave, and the latter a usurpation by the adherents of the prevailing sect. Elephanta, in the harbour of Bombay, comes next; and here Buddhism is totally excluded. Seeva and his obscenities, the altar of the lingum and all its filthy associations, prevail throughout. When the colossal figures, the monstrous shapes and allegorical or scenic representations of this cave were so deliberately matured, there was no warring element. Polemical strife and the struggle for domination had ceased. Buddhism was exiled, and the worshippers of Buddha were silenced. So far as we could trace the allegories, or follow them into the separate chambers, we could discover only the superstitions of modern Brahminism, which, like the portentous statue of the idol, had already grown to an immense shape, as a tyrannical usurpation. When standing upright on the shoulder of Seeva, the outstretched arm of a man six feet high could not reach the crown of his head. This reference to these temples will illustrate the high antiquity of the Hindoo nations now ruled as British subjects. The temple

of Elephanta has been wholly excavated—from the roof to the floor: the pillars, altars, idols, and scenic representations, have been fashioned from the rock. And though sheltered from a corroding atmosphere, it has long ceased to be hallowed as a shrine for worship, and is speedily losing its identity by the *débris* of the rock and the decay of the sculpture. Modern Brahmins are unable to explain a great portion of the subjects represented in the ancient monuments; and with all the light of recent researches, the mythology is so complicated, and the acquaintance with their allusions is still so imperfect, that they must be regarded as the remnants of a remote and obsolete antiquity. It is, however, actually demonstrable, that the people who excavated the latter temples, and designed the sculptures, must have possessed the same religious worship and the same mythological system, though probably somewhat circumscribed, as the present: perhaps the whole Brahminical *mythos* was not yet developed.

The Hindoos confess their ignorance of the period when these temples were prepared or consecrated. The Greeks did not come so far south in the expedition of Alexander. The earliest of ancient authors is Porphyry, who speaks of one of these grottos; it is, therefore, only from the monuments themselves that any conclusion can be come to regarding their antiquity. In them, however, the evidence is strong and demonstrative: their vast extent and perfect execution of detail, as well as the peculiar nature of the undertaking,

sufficiently show that it must have required a great number of years to bring them to completion. The rock out of which they have been hewn is a clay porphyry, one of the very hardest kinds of stone; and in all probability could only be wrought by that celebrated Indian steel, called *wudz;* which in the most ancient times was famous for its excellent temper. Is it credible that all recollections, among a people so stationary, of an enterprise so laborious as this, should have been totally lost, did it not originate at a very early period? Even time itself has impressed the marks of venerable antiquity upon them; many of the sculptured representations upon the walls we have seen so far gone in the process of decomposition, that they can with difficulty be recognised: legs of the *bas relief* imagery have either fallen, or are suspended by some partial and lingering adhesion, and ready to fall off in splintered exfoliations, so as completely to disfigure the aged relics. How many hundred years must have been necessary to produce such an effect upon a marble rock? The style itself also of these ingenious works would seem to attest their extreme age; characterised as they are by perfect simplicity, except where monstrous allegory and deifying fables imposed another law, united with consummate proportion and perfection. The figures of the various personages appear, all of them, naked, but at the same time furnished carefully with their respective ornaments; their head dress, necklaces, earrings, girdles, together with their proper attri-

butes: presenting no appearance of the excessive surcharge of apparel with which modern Hindoos overload their idols.

Heeren has proved himself an elaborate and patient archæologist, and most of his representations and comments harmonize with the results of our personal inspection. It is therefore with considerable diffidence we dissent from or question some of his suggestions. He remarks that, "the nature of this country (the south-western peninsula) itself would seem to suggest the convenience of *under-ground* habitation, where neither the vertical rays of the sun, nor the impetuous torrents of the rainy season, could penetrate." In all our ramblings over this peninsula, and they were extensive, we never witnessed such places of abode; and the same circumstances continue now as in former generations: nor did we observe any remaining indications of such having been their mode of living. We have seen huts clustered as nests among trees, the habitations of men, but never any dwelling places under ground. He adds, "the natives of other portions of the globe have adopted similar contrivances; and in proportion to the more extensive scope allowed by them to the introduction of science, so will it appear less wonderful that a people in such a situation, and not deficient in tools, should exercise their ingenuity in this way. The same kind of habitation which a man would construct for himself, he would also appropriate to his gods. It was a religious feeling which

transformed a hut into a temple; but an excavation of the rock would seem just so much the more obvious to him, as it favoured his design of rendering these monuments of his religion imperishable: a design which is apparent in the monuments themselves, and which is exhibited still more strongly among all nations, in proportion as we go further back into their antiquity. But the extent of such buildings in India, the vastness of their plan, the care displayed in their erection, the richness of the ornaments which adorn the walls, often indeed fantastic, yet still finished with great taste, all conspire together in exciting the admiration and surprise of the observant traveller, and immediately suggest to his mind the propriety of a remark, which one has often occasion to make when contemplating the gigantic works of remote antiquity, that such stupendous edifices could hardly be the work of one generation, but must have required the peaceable and uninterrupted labour of upwards of a century to bring them to completion." That a human habitation should be either a model for a religious temple, or a means of suggesting what structure is requisite, is only likely in a country where the gods are made of wood and stone, graven by art and man's device, and are like unto those who make them. But He who dwelleth in the heavens, high and lifted up, has demanded, "What is the house ye will build for me, and where is the place of my rest?" Temples erected for his worship should be constructed to suit the conve-

nience of his worshippers, and the nature of the services which he has required.

British India includes the Deckan and Hindostan Proper: with the former, mercantile nations have from the remotest ages been best acquainted; but the latter has been the theatre of internal and national changes and commotions; while the land of the Ganges may be called the *Holy Land* of the Hindoos, where the confluent streams, the Jumna, the Gogra, and Sona, join. In the last division were situate and known, in earliest times, as cities of note, Ayodhya, Indraprastha, Kanyakubya, Savasena, Palibothra, and Kasi, and in the Deckan we read of Sindu and Sarashtha; the Oude and the Delhi, the Canoge and Mathura, the Benares and Patna, the Sind and Surat of modern history. Ayodhya is represented in the Ramayuna as the capital of one of the oldest Hindoo states; and the genealogical register of king Desavatha is carried back through forty generations to Brahma, whose descendant in the seventh degree was the first king of this ancient realm. Ayodhya had, therefore, existed a thousand years when Desavatha was king, and his son Rama was born. This city is celebrated by other poets of Hindostan, to whose writings is assigned the remotest antiquity; and all tradition holds it, with its dependencies, forth as the most ancient state of India; which gives it an era high in the records of time — nearly 2000 years before the birth of Christ. At Desavatha's solemn sacrifice, rajahs were assembled, invited from Behar and Benares,

from Sind and Surat: here were princes of the Deckan and of a country on the borders of Persia, and princes from another region toward China. In that time, therefore, Hindostan was divided into principalities, separate and independent. Maghada, or Behar, was an ancient principality or kingdom, whose far distant origin is celebrated in the classical traditions of Hindostan. Sir William Jones reports evidence, from the sacred books of India, that Behar had eighty-one kings; the first twenty of whom not being reckoned, and placing the twenty-first about 2100 years before Christ, the last is supposed to have reigned 456 years prior to the christian era. The classical scholar is moreover in possession of absolute proof from history—from the authenticated accounts of the companions and successors of Alexander—that at this last epoch there had existed for a long space of time very flourishing empires in the country washed by the Ganges. The India of Herodotus embraces in part the countries to the north (they were likewise known to Ctesias the physician of Artaxerxes), Little Thibet and Caubul, as well as the southern districts contiguous to the mouths of the Indus, as far as the confines of Guzerat. The correctness of his statement is confirmed by all modern inquiries, and, with the exception of his erroneous *conclusions*, which appearances seemed to warrant, that all beyond the countries he described was sandy desert, his geographical delineations are singularly characterised by truth and propriety, though he

flourished 500 years before the commencement of our own era. His narratives embrace the accounts handed to his time by preceding writers; and therefore intercourse must have been maintained long previous to his time between the East and certain nations in the West.

Cinnamon does not grow in any country but on the western coast of India, and in the island of Ceylon. This sweet spice was used by the Jews, during the times of Moses, in their religious offerings. Pearls are chiefly found on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and on the banks of Condatchy bay in Ceylon. They were articles of traffic in Solomon's time.

The Phœnicians were at first a warlike people, as sacred history represents them. Not improbably, they have been conjectured to have been the Shepherd Kings of Egypt; we know they were, subsequent to the expulsion of the shepherd rulers from Egypt, the Canaanitish and Philistine enemies of Israel. But, subdued first by Joshua's conquests, and afterward by David's wars, they were confined to the sea-coast of Libanus, the inhabitants of Zidon, of the ancient and more modern Tyre; and applied themselves to merchandise and maritime traffic; they enriched themselves by active and free commerce, wherever they found a market and commodities for barter. They settled as colonists, and traded as mariners in the East, as well as in the West, 1200 years before Christ. They so understood the motion of the heavenly bodies as

to regulate their navigation by the Lesser Bear. We find them occupying Isur, Sylos, Dedan, and Arad, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Bay of Gherra. Dedan and the other island served as entrepôts of ships, as emporiums for commerce; and "the men of Dedan went afar off," probably to Ceylon and peninsular India, if not also to the Indian Archipelago; they doubtless traded to the former for "the sweet cane," which was presented in the Jewish offerings. These colonies they had planted, it is probable, in concurrence with the Chaldean possessors of the country washed by the Tigris and Euphrates. A thousand years before the coming of Christ, they united with the prosperous Solomon, and sent maritime expeditions to the farther East, which took three seasons to complete. According to recent and judicious investigations, there is every likelihood that extensive navigation was conducted within the Persian Gulf, and thence to the Indian shores on the one side,—extending its influence to large and distant countries,—before the consolidation of the Persian empire. The Indian peninsula to the west of the Bay of Bengal, and the contiguous island Ceylon, were the principal places of this navigation. Between the extreme points was situated Crocala, the port whence Nearchus, in his exit from the Indus, proceeded. The modern Kurachi and Beroach were then known as places of commerce, and supplied onyx stones; and here the trade-winds would greatly facilitate the voyage out and return of these ships.

The Phœnicians, whose colonies were situated on the Arabian side of the gulf, embarked with more zeal and enterprise in these voyages than their allies the Chaldeans; but they were joined also by the Arabians, who soon became the carriers and merchants to inland countries, of the precious and desirable productions of eastern lands. The chief commodities of this trade were Arabian incense, Indian spices, ivory, ebony, precious stones, pearls, and embroidered cloth. Babylon was subdued by Persian arms. The subsequent policy of the Persians was to prevent invasion by a maritime foe; they, therefore, blocked up the channel of the Euphrates. The trade to India with the inhabitants of these territories failed; but *Hormouse* sprung up, in after times, as a flourishing and free commercial port; and its merchants became the princes of the East. A most active trading intercourse with Babylon was still maintained by the Phœnicians, from the earliest to the latest period, while they severally continued distinct nations, and this commerce was conducted by land caravans; hence arose Palmyra and Balbec. The Babylonians themselves obtained, by land conveyance, from further India its choicest productions. The fondness of that people for magnificence, their costly garments, their public festivals and sacrifices, were attended with immense expense, and would attract the productions of distant lands to their city; and India shared abundantly in the influence and advantage. The raw materials required for their

celebrated manufactures, flax, cotton, and wool, as also silk, though some of them the growth of their own country, were not all, or in sufficient quantities for their consumption; and they could obtain such supplies most conveniently from India.

The chief parts, besides the sea-ports of this country, from which a foreign commerce was maintained, were Oujien, Diogur, and Pultanah. The first, anciently designated Ozene, the capital of Scindiah, was a holy city, and the resort of pilgrims; to which an immense number of people flocked together, and was not merely a large market for internal traffic, but also the emporium for foreign merchandise, in exchange for the inland produce—for the onyx stones, muslins, and calicoes, which were transmitted hence to the coast at Bassorah. Diogur, or Tagarah, stood near to the still famous caves and grotto temples of Ellora; and being considered one of the most celebrated sanctuaries of the land, it was not only the resort of devotees, but also of merchants, from the utmost India. Cotton goods, coarse and fine, and muslins, were the indigenous productions of the land, and the staples of foreign commerce for distant countries. Pultanah was the general market for onyx stones, and seems to have lain not far from the present Ahmednuggur among the western Ghauts. Internal commerce in the northern parts was carried on along the course of the Ganges, and from the modern Oude to the Punjab. Nor did the inhabitants of ancient India merely traffic to the

coast. In one of their earliest poems the merchants who traded *beyond* the sea, and brought presents to the king, are celebrated; and in the Institutes of Menu, even shipowners are provided with laws. The Indian Banians, who to this day are in repute throughout the country, have from time immemorial traversed the eastern seas, and monopolized the commerce of adjacent countries, forming colonies for mercantile purposes. In fragments of the oldest poets we find records of a merchant, who, after twelve years of absence, had returned to his native country with a cargo of precious stones; and of another who perished at sea, and whose immense wealth devolved to the king. Serica, or China, to the north, sent them silks, stuffs, and spun silk. Masulapatam was famous for cottons in the days of the author of the Periplus. At the mouth of the Ganges was another city noted for its commerce in pearls, the finest muslins, and betel; while the peninsula of Malacca (the farthest port in the Archipelago to which they sailed, under the name of Chryſa) was visited as an entrepôt for the productions of China from the eastward.

Silks, and skins manufactured or raw, as furs or as leather, were thence received by the Hindoos and other traders. Skins, shawls, garments of silk, and precious stones, were, three thousand years ago, the presents at royal marriages. Anga and Chrysa, or Ava and Malacca, served on the one shore; Massalia and Maliarpha, or as it is

probable Masulapatam and Maliaveram, served on the other coast of the bay of Bengal, as ports for merchandise. Three hundred years before the writing of the Periplus, that is, two thousand one hundred years since, voyages seem to have been made across the bay between the opposite ports. Different kinds of vessels were then used for coasting or for the more open sea; the coasting vessels being only of one plank, but the vessels designed for the deep, wide sea being more complex and well built. The southern part of the coast of Coromandel is represented by Ptolemy to have been thickly studded with commercial towns: in his days, the port or city now called the Seven Pagodas was deemed "a place of commerce;" and thus the archæologist may account for its yet wonderful relics—its almost mystical fragments on land and under water. The situation of this place—holy among the Hindoos—peculiarly favoured the plans of the mercantile adventurer: and so was it with the Taprobana of the Greeks, the Selandiv of the ancient Hindoos, and the Ceylon of modern times. Ptolemy describes the shores of that island as well furnished with commercial ports; its interior was also said by other historians to have abounded in great cities, splendid temples, and abundant markets. The western coast of India had been, long before the christian era, occupied by sea-ports, the localities of many of which are easily ascertained even now; as Nelisserim, on a river running between Malabar and Canara, but then known as Nelkindah; Mangalore,

also the ancient Musiris, in Lymirike; Calliene, contiguous to where the devoted and desolate Bassien now stands, deriving its celebrity from the proximate temples of Elephanta and Kenneri in Salsette. Beroach was the Barygaza of Phœnician times; Pattala was the port to which Nearchus sailed down the Indus, and may be regarded as the modern maritime city of Tatta, forty miles below Hyderabad, the present capital of Sinde, and lying near the delta of that river: between this port and Yemen commercial intercourse was carried on for many years with great prosperity.

The Arabs were the first to introduce the produce of India into the West. We read of a caravan of camels in the days of Jacob, conducted by Ishmaelites from Gilead, laden with the spices of India, in regular traffic with Egypt. Eight hundred years prior to the christian era the merchants of Sheba and Ramah, who were the Sabeans, men of stature, but who yielded to the yoke of Cyrus, are mentioned by the prophet Isaiah; they occupied in the fairs of Tyrus with the chief of all spices. The author of the Periplus affirms, that indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter, oil of Sesanum, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane honey (sugar), were regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka (the Concan) and Barygaza, or Beroach, to the opposite coast (of Arabia). "Some particular vessels," these are his words, "are purposely destined for this trade, others are engaged in it only as occasion offers." Arrian says

" this navigation was regularly managed:"—testimony, which may be considered indisputable, that in very ancient times a maritime commerce was carried on between India and Arabia; and that the importation of Indian produce to Africa must have been considerable. Even then Mocha, or Moskha, was wholly inhabited by Arab shipowners and sailors who traded at the opposite port of Barygaza with the productions of their native country. This navigation among the Arabs was naturally conducted at first along the indentations of the coast; but a pilot, named Hippalus, discovered the direct course across the ocean, by observing the position of the ports and the general appearance of the sea: and this course they were found pursuing in the reign of Nero by the author of the Periplus—starting for India from Kaneh or Aromata. There is no history which treats of them that does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea: we scarcely touch upon them incidentally in any author without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian Ocean. Their chief towns on the sea coast are described from the earliest records as the residence of navigators; and these places, Oman, Hydraumut, and Sabæa, being celebrated in the most ancient histories for maritime commerce, it is reasonable to suppose that they had long previous to any history continued entrepôts for merchandise. Agatharcides, who lived in the second century before Christ, mentions a town at the mouth of the Red Sea, whence, he says, the

Arabs sent out colonies into India, who formed their factories, and to which their large ships with merchandise came from India. In the time of Pliny the Arabs were in such numbers on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon, that, as he states, the Hindoos of those places had embraced the religion of the Arabians, and the ports of Ceylon were entirely in their power. At Sabæa, the great mart of Arabian commerce with India, the Greeks purchased, during the reign of Philometer, the spices and other productions of the East; and when they went, in order to escape Arabian monopoly as practised here, beyond the straits of Babel-Mandeb, hoping in the African ports to obtain them cheaper, they found cinnamon and other Indian produce brought thither also by the traders of Arabia.

We cannot close this brief sketch of ancient Indian commerce without transiently adverting to the Asiatic expedition of Alexander. Aristotle was, prior to this it seems, acquainted with India by the itineraries of Scylax. Herodotus, who flourished before the Macedonian hero a century and a half, and visited Susa and Babylon, where he had acquired much information concerning eastern countries generally, and especially Cashmere, believed that a fleet of Darius had sailed by the Indus to Egypt; but the ambition, enterprise, and capricious mind of Philip's son, attended by the success of his achievements, afforded unusual facilities to the Stagyrite for obtaining an increased acquaintance with the eastern world. Not content

with placing at the philosopher's disposal nearly *four millions of pounds sterling,* Alexander sent to Aristotle all the uncommon animals which his travels and conquests supplied. Nor was the conqueror satisfied with vague and general information; nor did he rely on the testimony of others when he could observe and judge for himself; he sought out the correctest knowledge, and in all cases in which he derived his information from others, he carefully selected such as best knew the country, and required that they should commit their intelligence to writing. By this means, all the native commodities, which to this day form the staples of East Indian commerce, were fully known to the Macedonians. Even Brahmins admired his devoted earnestness of research; and one confessed to him, "You are the only man whom I ever found curious in the investigation of philosophy at the head of an army." When Alexander invaded India, he found commerce flourishing in many parts of it, especially in the parts supposed to be the localities of the present Moultan, Attock, and Lahore, in the Punjab. It appears that he wisely encouraged and nourished it, and protected the native merchants. By such means, he procured the transports in which he sailed down the Indus. They must have been numerous; for his fleet (which contained only thirty war ships) is represented to have consisted of *eight hundred* vessels: 770 of them being such as were usually employed in the traffic on the Indus. Some of them had been built

under his own direction, but the greatest part were the property of native traders.

He projected or anticipated intercourse between India and the western provinces of his dominions in Egypt, both by land and by sea. He therefore founded cities, and surveyed the course of the chief rivers, the Hydaspes and the Indus, the Tigris and the Euphrates; and had his life been prolonged, he proposed to re-open the mouths of the latter rivers for conveying the commodities of India by the Persian Gulf. The Macedonians were thus acquainted with the chief rivers of Asia, the religion and policy, the manners and commerce of India; and acquired a knowledge of the channels of commercial intercourse, long known to Phœnician colonists and Arab mariners. Seleucus was the successor of Alexander in these provinces; and to secure the commercial advantages of his predecessor's conquests, he marched an army into farther India—into districts not visited by Alexander, and is supposed by some to have reached as far as modern Patna. He formed a treaty with Sandrocottas, a Hindoo king, residing at Palibothra, and afterwards sent his ambassador, Megasthenes, to that city. This man resided several years at Palibothra; and on his return, published among the Greeks an account of that part of India, fragments of which are preserved in Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Arrian. Although Alexander was only able to march his army to the Beyah, one of "the five rivers," tributary streams of the Indus; and when

within a few miles of the Himalaya mountains, and not far from a branch of the Ganges, the conqueror, who had subdued the world, had himself to submit to the stern resolve of his own soldiers, and march back to the Indus;—and though his successor, Seleucus, was stopped in the progress of his Indian conquests by the reported invasion of his dominions by Antigonus, more than three hundred years before Christ,—a broad stream of light is shed upon India; and we learn that at the downfal of the Persian empire, a large portion of Hindostan was made familiar to the Grecian world. And, moreover, it can hardly be disputed that the discoveries then made only showed the condition of the people during the supremacy of the Persians. They were in the repose of a profound peace,—no marks of existing or recent revolutions,—and the native princes were generally at peace with each other.

The whole country of the Punjab was densely inhabited, and well cultivated throughout, filled with a multitude of flourishing states and various tribes, living under independent forms of government; all of them warlike and courageous; presenting a formidable resistance to the Greek conquerors; their complexion swarthy, but not black; stature tall and slender, but alert in their motions, and not enervated by effeminacy. One king, of Saxilla, had indeed procured Alexander's favour at the price of 200 talents, 3,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, and thirty elephants; but the other states of the Punjab were independent of him. His present

proves the abundance of cattle within his territories; yet he was only accounted one of the petty kings of India. On the farther side of the Hydaspes ruled a more powerful *monarch; at the head of an army;* mustering 30,000 foot, 4,000 horse, besides 350 war-chariots, and 200 elephants. The description of men and manners given by the historian of Alexander's expedition will suit the people and princes of this day: the rajah appearing on great days on a state-elephant; the dress of great men being of fine cotton, which enveloped the head, and was wrapped round the shoulders. We do not remember having seen among modern Hindoos, what Arrian describes, the beards dyed of various colours, white, scarlet, and blue; but we believe that still a difference of rank may be observed as distinguished by the high and decorated fashions of shoes. The rajpoots of modern times had their representatives then living, between the Chunaub and Beyah, in the eastern parts of Lahore, and in the southern district of Moultan, in the persons of the Cathæi and Oxydracæ, who were not subject to the rule of princes, but possessed a republican constitution. All these are described as warlike nations, and many of them as populous and powerful, opposing to Alexander and his followers an impetuous and courageous resistance, such as he had scarcely encountered any where else. His victories over them were uniformly purchased at a vast expense of blood: they had not only walls and ramparts, but also citadels

within, for the defence of their cities; and their encampments were protected by a triple line of military waggons, and cars in great numbers; their various descriptions of boats and vessels were also brought together on their rivers when assailed by their conquerors. On the capture of one of their cities, Sangola of the Cathæi, 17,000 of its inhabitants perished, 7,000 were made prisoners, besides 500 horsemen and 300 war-chariots that were taken. Many of their tribes preferred exile to subjugation; and deserting their cities, they withdrew into the deserts which border on their country.

It is worthy of notice in what articles of traffic the merchants of those times dealt. The regular trade between Barygaza and Oman was direct; the merchandise was in brass, sandal wood, timber, horn (ivory), ebony, and frankincense, purple cloth, gold and pearls, onyx stones, porcelain, fine muslins, muslins dyed of the colour of the melon, murrhine cups, myrrh, wine, dates, and slaves. To the king of Minagura, in whose territory Barygaza was situate, plate of very great value, musical instruments, handsome virgins for his harem, perfumes, wines of the best quality, and plain cloth, but of the finest texture, were brought as presents by the traders; and from the inland country were exported costus, a kind of spice, bdellium, a gum, a yellow dye, spikenard, cottons, silk thread, emeralds, sapphires, indigo or indicum, which was probably the Indian ink, and some kind of skins.

The goods imported into Pattala (Tatta) on the Indus were woollen cloth, linen woven in chequer-work, some precious stones and aromatics, coral, storax, glass vessels, plate, money and wine; and from Pattala were exported spices, gems, particularly sapphires, silk stuffs, silk thread, cotton cloths, and pepper.

The policy and local management of those ancient harbours deserve a passing observation. On account of dangers and difficulties in reaching the harbour of the Indus, pilots were appointed by government with large boats, well manned, who put to sea to await the approach of ships. When these pilots came on board, they brought the ship's head round, and kept her clear of the shoals at the mouth of the river; if necessary, they towed the ship from station to station. These stations were called basins, and constructed so as to retain the water in pools after the tide had receded. The sovereign of Barygaza is represented as so anxious to render it the only mart, that ships were not permitted to enter any of his other harbours; if they attempted it, they were boarded and brought to Barygaza. In this port all the produce and manufactures of that part of India were collected; some brought down the Nerbudda, and others conveyed across the mountains by caravans. The merchandise of Bengal and Seres, or China, was also collected here. Such was the dispatch of business, that a cargo could be entirely landed and sold, and a new cargo obtained and put on board,

in three days. The same ancient writer, the author of the Periplus, from whom this description is furnished, proceeding along the coast to the south, most accurately describes, under the title of the Deckan, the country which is still called by that name: but of this we have already spoken. The province of Canara he calls Lymirike, and Malabar he designates as Pundion; and other districts he brings under review, till he conducts his readers to the island of Ceylon. Of this place a monkish writer in the sixth century gives minute information:—"Taprobana, called by the Hindoos Selandiv, is a large island in the Indian Ocean, where the hyacinth-stone (the ruby) is found; it is opposite the pepper country (Malabar), and in the vicinity are numerous other small islands (the Maldives). It is governed by two kings, one of whom rules in the country of hyacinth-stones (the mountainous tracts of the interior), and the other on the coast, with its harbours and commercial towns. From all India, Persia, and Ethiopia, between which countries it is situate in the middle, an infinite number of vessels arrive at, as well as go from, Ceylon. From the interior of the continent, as, for instance, from China (Tzinitza) and other commercial countries, it receives silk, aloes, cloves, and other productions, which it exports to Malabar, where the pepper grows, and to Calliene, from whence is brought steel and cloth: for this latter is also a great commercial port. It likewise makes consignments to Sinde, on the borders of India,

whence come musk and castorium, and also to Persia, Yemen, and Aduli. From all these countries it receives articles of produce, which again it transmits into the interior, together with its own productions. Selandiv is, consequently, a great emporium; and being situate in the middle of India, it receives merchandise from, as well as sends it to, all parts of the world." This testimony was borne subsequent to the year 500 of our era. Ptolemy gives a similar description three hundred years earlier. Such also was its reputation in the reign of Claudius, and again in the time of the Ptolemies, on the authority of Pliny. We come at once to the historical fact, and it is interesting to observe, that, during a space of a thousand years, five hundred years before and five hundred years after Christ, Ceylon continued to be the great emporium of the Hindoo carrying trade from Aduli on the coast of Africa, Yemen, Malabar, and the ultra Gangetic peninsula, even to China. The island of Ceylon became better known than formerly to the Romans in consequence of an adventure of a freedman of a Roman citizen who farmed the customs in the Red Sea. The freedman was blown across the ocean to Taprobana, where he was hospitably received by the king, and after a residence of six months, was sent back along with ambassadors to Claudius. The messengers from Ceylon informed the emperor that the country was very extensive, populous, and opulent, abounding in gold, silver, and pearls.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, merchandise was brought from the East overland by caravans to Batnæ, near to Antioch, in the middle of the fourth century; they also conveyed goods up the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to the same market in such abundance, that the Persians sought to plunder the annual fair held at Batnæ. The next notices of commercial intercourse with the East are by two Mohammedan travellers, who went into those parts in the ninth century: they asserted that the Arab merchants did not confine themselves to a traffic at Ceylon, but went into the farther east, and traded to every part of that quarter of the globe—to China itself. According to their account, when foreign vessels arrived at the Chinese port, Caufu, the Chinese took possession of their cargoes, and stored them in warehouses till the arrival of all the other ships expected; consequently, some vessels were detained sometimes six months. Then a third part of all the merchandise was taken as duty; the rest was restored to the traders; and while the emperor was deemed the preferable purchaser, it was only for ready money, and at the highest price of the market. The Arabs had at the Chinese port a judge, or cadi, appointed to preside over them under the emperor: they must therefore have been respected, if not numerous, in China. But the Chinese themselves sailed to distant ports along the Persian Gulf, as far as Bussorah. They valued gold and silver only as merchandise; they dressed in silk summer and

winter; had no wine, but drank a liquor made from rice, probably arrack; they drank an infusion of sah, or tea, and a large duty was levied as a revenue from it. Their porcelain was fine and transparent as glass. Their males were registered when born, paid a capitation tax when eighteen years of age, and received a pension when eighty years old.

In the tenth century we find Arabian merchants trading between China and Bussorah, and in the Indian seas. In the fourteenth century we discover traces, in the lengthened travels of Ibn Batouta, an Arabian, of Indian commerce; and the marts of Java, Calicut, Caubul, and Bochara, are mentioned as places of resort. The Arabians divided the present Hindostan into two parts, Sind and Hind: the former comprising the countries lying on the Indus and on the Western peninsula; the latter embracing Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Bengal. They were ignorant of the Coromandel coast. The valley of Cashmere affords ample matter for panegyric: their geographers describe the towns of Cambay, Guzerat, and Narwhorra; the last, the capital of a powerful Hindoo king, who ruled from Guzerat and the Concan to the Ganges. They enumerate Benares, celebrated as a school of Indian philosophy; Gevatior, an almost impregnable fortress; and Cochin, the residence of a Jewish colony in those days. To the Maldives they resorted for *cowries*, small shells to be used as "money current with the merchant." Java and Sumatra were visited by the Arabs, and some of them settled as colonists in

Ternate and the Spice Islands. Their language, religious opinions, and customs, may be traced clearly in the manners of the present inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

Recent intercourse has disclosed to us the nature and extent of the present commerce of some of those ancient marts of traffic, and it is curious to mark the coincidence and details of their merchandise. We are assured that no soil can be more productive than Cashmere is even yet, when duly tilled, and it is believed capable of affording sustenance for a million of men. All the fruits of Europe and Asia might, and many of them actually do, grow here in great luxuriance. The valley is subject, in a very slight degree, to the *periodical* rains, having rather the seasons of Persia and Tartary than of India. The climate is described by all travellers as delightful and healthy. Kilghet, a dependency of Ladak, situated twenty days' journey from the northern boundaries of Cashmere, is the great mart for the wool of which the shawls are made. There are two kinds of it: that which can readily be dyed is white; the other sort is of an ashy colour, which can with difficulty be changed or improved by art, and is generally woven in its natural hue. A single goat yields two pounds' weight once a year. After the down has been carefully separated from the hairs, it is washed repeatedly with rice-starch. This process is reckoned important. To the quality of the water of their valley the Cashmerians attribute the peculiar and inimitable fineness

of the fabrics produced there. The best raw wool is sold at Kilghet for about one rupee a pound. One half of its weight is lost by the washing and preparation; and when spun, three rupees' weight of the thread is considered worth one rupee. Shawls are wrought of various forms, size, and borders; the borders are worked separately to suit different markets. Those sent to Turkey used to be of the softest and most delicate texture. Carpets and counterpanes are fabricated of the hair, or coarser part of the wool. The destruction of the Janissaries, who used to dress in shawls, the subjugation of Caubul to a foreign power, and the ruined finances of Lucknow, and other causes, have decreased the demand for this elegant dress of late years. Under the Mogul emperors Cashmere found work for 30,000 shawl looms. In the time of the Afghaun kings the number decreased to 18,000; there are now no more than 6000 employed. English imitations have not had much effect among the Asiatic nations; at first their pretty patterns and brilliant colours took the fancy of some, but their singular inferiority of softness and warmth compared with the genuine shawl, soon caused the counterfeit articles to be neglected. A camel load of them was lately put up at an outcry in Delhi, when scarcely a native would bid for one. The average value of shawls exported from Cashmere amounts annually to 1,800,000 rupees. Runjeet Singh takes two-thirds in kind, as part of the gross revenue of the province, which

is about 2,500,000 rupees a year. His highness is said to sell three-fourths of what he thus receives, and to keep the remainder for his own court. Of the rest, disposed of by him and left for sale in the valley, seven hundred thousand rupees' worth go to Bombay and Western India, thence to Hindostan, chiefly Oude; fifty thousand each, to Calcutta, Caubul, Herat, and Balk, whence some pass on to neighbouring countries.

From the fields of Taprobane or Selandiv (the present Ceylon) the ancients used to receive the sweet cane, the cinnamon spice. It is yet an article of luxury, the produce chiefly of the same land, and that land forms part of British territory in the East. The *laurus cinnamanum* of Ceylon is capable of yielding a sufficient supply for every country in Europe. The tree whence the cinnamon bark is derived grows to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, with an irregular and knotty stem, branchy and ligneous roots, fibrous and inodorous wood; *external* bark, rough, thick, scabrous, and of an ash colour; *inner* bark reddish, (the young shoots are often delicately speckled with dark green and light orange colours;) branches umbrageous, inclining horizontally and downwards; leaves oblong and in pairs, from six to nine inches in length, and three broad, petiolated, colour dark green; flowers clustered in one peduncle, white, wanting calyx, smell resembling a mixture of rose and lilac; fruit, an oval berry, larger than a black currant; receptacle thick, green, and hexangular.

The roots have the pungent smell of camphor, and the delicious odour of cinnamon, yielding camphor by distillation; the leaves have the pungent taste of cloves; the berries by boiling yield an unctuous substance like wax, emitting an agreeable odour, and was formerly used as candles for the exclusive use of the Kandian court. Cattle of every kind eagerly feed on the luxuriant foliage; while pigeons, crows and other birds devour the berries with avidity. To the industry of man belongs the bark, the varieties of which are dependent on the nature of the soil, on the skill in cultivating and peeling, and on the age and healthiness of the plant. About two thousand acres of land are laid out in regular cinnamon plantations in Ceylon, and about thirty thousand persons are employed thereon. The peeling of the bark begins with May and ends with October; the peelers (Chalias—a distinct caste in Ceylon) commence the process by striking a sharp bill-hook into a shoot which seems fit for peeling. If on opening the gash the bark separates gently, it is fit for decortication, or stripping; if otherwise, the shoot is unhealthy, the gash is carefully closed, and the sucker left for future examination. Shoots thus found fit (generally from three to five feet long, and three quarters of an inch in diameter) are then cut down, conveyed to sheds, and there cleared of leaves and twigs. By means of two longitudinal slits, the bark peels off in two semicircular slips; when a sufficient number are collected, the sections are placed in close

contact (as two quill-halves would be laid one within the other) and the whole bundle is firmly pressed and bound up together for twenty-four hours, until a degree of fermentation is produced, which facilitates the removal of the cuticle. Subsequently the interior side of each section of bark is placed upon a convex piece of wood fitted to its size, and the epidermis, together with the green succulent matter, carefully scraped off: if any of the outer pulpy substance be allowed to remain, the cinnamon has an unpleasant bitterness. A few hours after the removal of the cuticle, the pieces are again placed in each other, and the bark in drying gradually contracts and rolls itself into a quill-like form. During the first day it is placed under shelter on open platforms; subsequently, it is finally dried in the sun, and made up into bundles of about thirty pounds weight. A plantation requires seven or eight years' growth before yielding produce. The tree is least advantageously propagated by seeds; layers and shoots, or transplanted stumps, are the best means of extending the growth.

These brief sketches of Indian commerce are interesting, not merely as the subject of antiquarian research, but as links for connecting the wide-spread nations with their common birth-place, and their primeval parentage; for putting in stronger relief the changes which have passed on eastern nations; and for developing the causes which have fixed the character of oriental society in the fashion of olden time, and stamped the lineaments of

modern Asia with the mould of antiquity. There are, familiar to the English reader, certain historical notices, which possess all the enchantment of classical association, and all the romance of legendary or local tradition. Such are our recollections of Saracenic conflict, Arabian hospitality, Turkish barbarism, and Persian civility, and the superstitions of Mohammedan bigotry, as derived from the sketches of our earliest writers. Perhaps this influence may be traced to the magic powers of composition wielded by our standard writers, the style of which breathes all the freshness of virgin eloquence, and whose diction is adorned with the images of an unelaborated and natural invention. Or it may be that because they were the companions of our youth, and distilled their genial influence upon our expanding thoughts, they have secured a name and a habitation in the wide domain of our fancy. To whatever cause the phenomenon may be ascribed, such is the fact, and in vain will the writers, even the most fascinating of modern date, contend with the Addisonian phalanx for superiority and permanent possession, at least in the mind of the sexagenarian of our time.

> " Thoughts of my childhood, hail ! whose gentle spirits wandering here
> Down in the visionary vale, before mine eyes appear
> Benignly pensive, beautifully pale,
> Through days for ever fled, for ever dear :
> Thoughts of my childhood, hail !"

Nevertheless, in later days, regions of almost untrodden research have been thrown open, and

events of unparalleled magnitude have occurred. India has been placed in a fraternal relation with Britain, and her sons have bowed the suppliant knee to British philanthropy, claiming from us a regard more intense and active than mere sentimental emotion or literary interest; and happily for the successful direction of national energies to the welfare of those important dependencies of the British crown in the East, there have issued from the British press works well calculated to arouse and entice the thoughts of a reading public.

We have now traversed with hasty steps the regions of antiquity, and wandered among the fragments of early times as they are found scattered in the writings of travellers and historians; we have been accompanied and guided by the calm and philosophical inquirer, whose patient investigations have enabled him to describe and unfold, to unravel and arrange, the registers and narratives, the records and monuments, of former greatness, enterprise and prosperity. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans, the Arabians and Greeks, have served as links in the chain of connexion between modern and ancient times; they have presented epochs between the birth of commerce and its full maturity — caravanserais, or resting places for the world's traffic between east and western regions. Their transactions have been landmarks for the antiquary and the philosopher; their intercourse with the Hindoos as a meandering stream of passing time; and their memorials, the rays of dawning

light which have now been absorbed by the shining splendour of our noon-tide brightness. Yet, alas! they do not present that people, whose path has been so monotonous, and whose religion and character have been so stationary,—whose infancy was so precocious, and their mature years a continued childhood,—as possessing the knowledge of the only living and true God, or as ennobled by divine and exalting principles; as either imparting or receiving truth and virtue, as enjoying the fellowship of the Holy One and the Just, or glorifying his name as the servants of Jehovah and the benefactors of the human race. Theirs was not the path of the just, which shineth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Better prospects have, however, appeared in our time for that land of hoary antiquity.



SCENE IN THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS—SOURCE OF A RIVER.

THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY, AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE increase and extension of geographical knowledge is as much a feature of modern improvement as any recent discovery in the arts, or in the circle of sciences. When Columbus went forth to explore the farther Indies by a western route, the region now denominated British India was a *terra incognita*, as much as the laws which now regulate chemical affinities were unknown to the alchemist, or the fanatic enthusiast, who wildly groped in search of the philosopher's stone. The land of

the banian and the palm, of the spice-cane and the pepper, where the choicest condiments and most valuable articles of commerce are in abundance produced, lay upon the map an unexplored region; since its paths had for ages been untrodden, and its many tribes had been despised as a people of a strange speech. The rays of science and the light of literature have now shone on the lofty mountains, and penetrated the valleys and trackless wilds; the energies of commerce and the daring of ambition have stemmed the majestic rivers, and circumnavigated the outstretched coast of Hindostan. The historian and the painter have recently described her inhabitants and her scenery. Industry and talent, enterprise and perseverance, have explored regions and tribes which were long hidden, or but partially known. What was scattered in many and inaccessible repertories has been condensed; and the information which was shut up or monopolized in the libraries of the wealthy or the learned is now widely and cheaply diffused, and brought to our fire-sides and tea-tables. Hindostan is better known to-day than the Hebrides were in the time of Johnson, or than the Shetland Isles were at the beginning of the present century; while the aggressions and acquisitions of our English nabobs in oriental countries, the subversion of Asiatic despotism, and the substitution of British rule among the nations of the East, are the records of our cabinet libraries, and form the *vade mecums* of every inquirer after knowledge.

It is, however, an expression not confined to the unlearned, which we not unfrequently hear, "the heat of India," or "the climate of India:" whereas Hindostan contains regions as subject to snow, with chilling frosts, and cold and shivering blasts, as any part of continental Europe; and presents as great a variety of climate: from the arid heat of a vertical sun, to the inhospitable and freezing atmosphere of the bleak and frigid north. The countries now ruled by, or subject to the supremacy of, Britain in the East, extend from the equator, near to which Singapore is situated, or from the southernmost peninsula of Malacca, about two degrees north latitude, to the Himalayas; which range from the 28th degree, in the Bhotan country advancing to the more northerly latitudes of Cashmere, Attock, and Herat; and extend in the widest sweep of the river Sind, as far as the 35th and 36th degrees; and spread from the Sylhet frontier, a border which lies as far east as the 100th degree, to the mouths of the Indus on the western shores of Hindostan: besides the dependencies in the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea;—a wide-enough field for every change of climate and every degree of temperature under which man can comfortably subsist. While the native of the southern provinces clothes himself in the loose and light robes of cotton, or passes among his people in the bazaars and thoroughfares only partially covered, the hardy northern wraps himself in the woollen or silken stuffs and shawls of Moultan and Cashmere, or

in the flannels and broad cloth of English manufacture; and the daring traveller or mountaineer of the Himalayas is glad to draw around him the furs and mufflings which are employed to protect against the snows of Nova Zembla or Siberia.

The several presidencies have their separate and distinguishing natural characteristics, and the countries or provinces subject to their jurisdiction differ as they lie east or west, north or south. If we traverse the eastern regions under the presidency of Bengal, we shall find the alluvial well-watered and flat plains of Bengal; the hills and dales of Bahar, the Rajmehall hills, and the table lands with which the province is diversified. Allahabad contains the exuberant district of Benares, the fertile banks of the Jumna and Ganges, and the elevated table lands of Bundlecund, with the picturesque and isolated hills which range and diverge in groups parallel to the Vindhya mountains. Agra is in some places open and flat, but toward the south and west better wooded and interspersed with hills and dales; while Delhi is covered with dense jungles and forests in the north-west, but clear, level, and cultivated from the centre to the south-west. The British provinces in Berar are wild and rugged, with steep water-courses, dense jungles, hills, and impassable ravines. The Vindhya and Goundwara, or Sautpora, ranges of hills on either side, hedge in the romantic valley of the Nerbudda for three hundred miles; a rude and uncultured vale, which stretches in breadth nearly twenty

miles, and is fringed on both sides to the mountain summits with forests of deep jungle. Malwa is a table land, generally open and highly cultivated, varied with conical and flat-crowned hills and low ridges, watered by numerous rivers and small streams, and favoured with a rich, productive soil and a mild climate, alike conducive to the health of man, and the liberal supply of his wants and luxuries. Ahmedabad, Kairah, Baroach, Baroda, and Surat, occupy a wild sea-coast; at certain seasons are cold and unpleasant, and embrace a country mountainous and jungly, with some fertile tracts, especially Guzerat, a flat country, rich and fruitful. Kandiesh, Poonah, and Ahmednuggur, are districts of irregular but elevated territory; are intersected by rivers and pellucid streams, which flow through valleys truly beautiful, and are overtopped by hills and native fortresses, which render the country picturesque and variegated: the plain is well watered and fertile; and the Ghauts present to the view continuous lines of mountain forest, while the river courses, the Krishna, Toombuddra, Taptee, and Gutpurba, pass through a region exceedingly rich and diversified. In the Concans, north and south, a line of sea-coast extends for several hundred miles, with a narrow margin of productive land, and an abrupt wall of steep, rocky mountains, ascending in some places four thousand feet above the level of the sea. Among, and on the outer verge of these ghauts, are many fruitful spots, cultivated as rice tracts, irrigated by numerous mountain streams. From Goa throughout

the province of Canara to Mangalore, and following the Malabar coast to Cochin, the scenery is romantic and grand. The cataract of the river Shirawati, or Carawooty, which rises in Darwar, and flowing into Canara, falls into the sea at Shadusgur, exceeds in beauty and sublimity every waterfall which has hitherto been made known in Europe. The country around the village of Haliali, or Hullyhall, to the north-west of the fall about three miles, and on the confines of the Goese territory, presents the richness of a tropical forest, mingled with cultivation. The traveller comes unexpectedly upon the river, and the sudden transition adds to the effect. A few steps of devious winding over huge blocks of granite, bring him "to the brink of a fearful chasm, rocky, bare, and black," down into which he looks to the depth of a thousand feet. The bed of the river is one-fourth of a mile in direct breadth; but the edge of the fall is elliptical, with a sweep of about half a a mile. This body of water rushes, at first, for about 300 feet over a slope at an angle of 45°, in a sheet of white foam, and is then precipitated to the depth of 850 more into a black abyss, with a thundering noise. It has, therefore, a depth of *eleven hundred and fifty feet.* In the rainy season the river appears to be about thirty feet in depth at the fall; in the dry season it is much lower, and is divided into three cascades, of varied beauty and astonishing grandeur, but the smaller streams are almost dissipated before they reach the bottom.

No description is adequate to convey a full conception of the beauty, the verdure, the wooded and watered glens and vales, of this romantic province. The rolling mountains, which rise and tower in grand magnificence, one over another, from the white ocean-margin to the table lands of the Mahratta, the Coorg, and the Mysore countries; the ever-gushing and refreshing mountain streams which hasten down the steep-sided but plenteous valleys, or through the lower plains covered with cocoa-nut trees, and enter by numerous inlets to the sea; the precipitous and craggy Ghauts, some of them piercing the sky to the height of seven or nine thousand feet from their watery base, exhibiting an umbrageous and verdant forest to their loftiest summits; mock all efforts to delineate or convey an idea of their stupendous magnitude or luxuriant majesty. Travancore advances to Cape Comorin, for 150 miles presenting valleys down to the sea-shore, clothed with perennial verdure; then hills and dales, forming scenes of the most lovely and peaceful beauty, all richly cultivated. The gigantic Ghauts of the western coast recede here further (perhaps forty miles) inland, and are crowned to their summits with stupendous forests of teak, bamboo, &c.; the whole province furnishing the most splendid picture of tropical scenery which any region can display. The blue mountains of Coimbatore, the Nielgheries, lie to the south of Mysore from sixty to a hundred miles; they are free from jungle, and in a high state of

cultivation. The most elevated is nearly nine thousand feet above the ocean level, and the lowest is about five thousand six hundred and sixty feet: Jackanairi the lowest, and Moorchoorti Bet the highest among the five. The climate on these hills is mild as is the south of France, and salubrious as Devonshire. To the north of them is elevated the table land of the ceded provinces, Bellary, Cuddapah, &c., and contains some of the most fruitful districts of the Madras presidency, though, perhaps, it is also the hottest region. Mysore claimed as its capital the fortress of Seringapatam; but Bangalore is more worthy the inquiries of the geographer. It is a plateau of fifty or sixty miles square, with an undulating surface, and nearly three thousand feet above the level of the sea. The climate is peculiarly salubrious and mild, visited by the monsoons of the eastern and the western coast; and possessing the richest soil, its fertility and temperature are not surpassed in any province of British India.

The coast and region between Madras and the Cape Comorin, and from Cuttack to Madras, are perhaps the most fervid and oppressive to the European: but there are no swamps, the atmosphere is not poisoned with malaria, nor is the soil subject to nitrous incrustations. The shore is flat and sandy, comparatively sterile and uncultivated: a parched and naked waste spreads along an extent of 600 miles from the mouths of the Kistnah to the mouths of the Cauvery. From Nagpore, by Ellichpore, to Jaulnah and Beejanuggur on the

north and west, and thence along the banks of the Toombuddra, by Kurnool, including Hyderabad, as far as to the confines of Rajamundry, watered by the Godavery, on the south and east, an arable and productive region extends over nearly 110,000 square miles. The soil will grow the strongest grain, and bears the finest wheat, and is capable of the highest cultivation. The climate is generally healthy, and for the greatest part of the year comparatively cool; especially the two northern districts. At Hyderabad for the three hot months in the year the thermometer is often as high as 100 Fahrenheit in the shade, and sometimes even at midnight. Beneath the eastern Ghauts stretch out the lower provinces of the Carnatic, beginning from the Northern Circars, and embracing Ongole, Arcot, Combaconum, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, with the country of Tanjore. The fertility of most of these regions is proverbial, and they abound in the richest produce. The atmosphere is dry, and often parching, yet, to a great extent, tempered with the breezes from the sea, or affording shelter in the high lands connected with the Ghauts. Though the eastern Ghauts be not so magnificent or picturesque as those on the western shores, there are many lovely spots, nooks, as it were, retired from the wild glare of Indian sands, and the withering heat of a vertical sun, where grandeur and solitude, verdure and shade, fit muses of the poetic child, furnish a retreat the most peaceful and refreshing.

A survey of the great natural outlines which bound and distinguish India would be incomplete without a glance at the peaked summits of the majestic Himalayas, literally, *the seats of snow;* and a passing sip of the sacred streams, or a sail down one or other of the magnificent rivers which water the plains of India. The elevated ridges which separate Tartary from Hindostan, and among which the Chinese contend with Britain for supremacy, are so inaccessible, from their rugged heights, their perpetual snows and piercing colds by night, or scorching noontide rays; they are, moreover, so remote from the more busy haunts of mankind or the marts of commerce; that they were long looked at as gigantic monuments of nature's power, rather than tracts which were to be traversed and explored. Enterprising Englishmen have broken the silence and invaded the secrets of those mountain recesses, and ascended to some of their loftiest regions. They have followed as far as the track of vegetable life can be traced, and beyond where any exhibitions of animal existence residing and subsisting could be marked. They have contended with the exhausting and oppressive atmosphere of the Alpine regions, the precipitous shelving and instable rocks, the often fatal and always perilous mountains of snow, and the hostile or suspicious natives of these inhospitable climes; and they have returned in triumph, bearing to us the results of their inquiry, the measurements of the highest summits, and the altitudes and bearings

of the mountain sources of the greatest Asiatic rivers; they have brought us specimens of the natural productions, and a description of those regions where the last link in vegetable life has been passed. The minerals, lead and iron, gold and copper, plumbago, antimony and sulphur, have been found. The elevation of the highest peak has been noted as reaching to nearly 27,000 feet, five miles in perpendicular height above the level of the sea! while the Simla, now a delightful British station, is about 7,500 feet, whence is obtained a highly interesting view of the snowy range. The principal passes among these mountains are Lasseha, Hangarang, Gunass, and Majang La, respectively 13,628; 14,710; 15,459; and 17,700 feet above the level of the sea: what then will be their relative peaks? It is presumed that these are the loftiest mountains on the surface of the earth; piled in appalling confusion and scattered in detached masses, they present on their exalted summits diluvial deposits and organic remains, which bespeak confirmation to the Mosaic testimony, how "the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered" during the flood. On the northern side, villages are found as high as 13,000 feet above the level of the sea; cultivation has been conducted 600 feet higher; there are fine birch trees 14,000, and furze bushes for fuel thrive 17,000 above the ocean level. The highest balloon that ever soared into the regions

of space had not ascended much higher than these furze bushes, till Guy Lussac, in 1804, rose to the height of 23,100 feet: the aeronauts, Messrs. Monck Mason, Rush, and Green, dared to venture no farther than the peaks of some of these mountains in their most adventurous exploratory flight among the regions of clouds. Messrs. Green and Rush returned from their ascent when they had measured 25,146 feet, not so high as the presumed elevation of Dhawala-Giri. On the 21st of June, a Captain Webb found extensive fields of barley at an elevation of 11,000 feet; and at 11,630 feet above Calcutta he pitched his tent, on a clear spot, surrounded by rich forests of oak, pine, and rhododendra, with a vegetation which was rank and luxurious, and as high as the knee; extensive strawberry-beds, beautiful currant-bushes in flower, and a profusion of butter-cups, dandelions, crocusses, cowslips, and every variety of European spring wild flowers. In the villages of Kunawar, almost 16,000 feet high, with a poor and rocky soil, apples, pears, raspberries, apricots, and other fruits, abound; and pines, with a circumference of 24 feet and a height of 180, flourish in forests even higher. While the summer heat is so strong as to melt the snow and lay many of the mountains bare, the winter cold is frequently so intense as to split and detach huge masses of rock, which roll from mountain to mountain with loud and terrific reverberations. At Samsiri, on the banks of the Shelti, 15,600 feet above the level of the sea, a halting-place provided for travellers,

there is a beautiful landscape, with verdant hills and tranquil rivulets, banks of turf and shrubs, cheered with flocks of pigeons and herds of deer. A recent traveller visited a village 15,000 feet high, and found the finest crops of barley, reared by the aid of irrigation and solar heat. Men and animals appeared to live and thrive luxuriantly; bullocks and *shawl* goats seemed finer than at any other place of his observation. "On the north-eastern frontier of Kunawar," he says, "close to the stone bridge, I attained a height of more than 20,000 feet without crossing snow. Notwithstanding this elevation, I felt oppressed by the sun's rays, though the air in the shade was freezing. The view from this spot was grand and terrific beyond the power of language. I had anticipated a peep into China itself, but I only beheld the lofty frontier, all arid, and bare, and desolate; it was a line of naked peaks, scarce a stripe of snow appearing." But it is on the cessation of the periodical rains that the scene is most striking; the tops only remaining covered, glare their radiant snow at the powerless sun in calm, desolate grandeur. Greater part of the bare rock is then disclosed, and the vast, dim mass, just crowned by gelid points, appears like the curling crest of an enormous wave rising out of a sea of mist; traces of snow extend down the hollows, and accumulations repose far below, while steep cliffs project their bare sides even to 18,000 feet. The geology of these giant mountains seems to mock the speculations of all philosophers.

Dr. Gerard's tour has been recorded in the Asiatic Journal, and is full of interest. He had entered the bed of the Chandera-Baga—*the river of the moon.* The traveller was "now struck with the change of the climate and the alteration in the appearance of the inhabitants. The configuration of the country assumes a new form, and the eternal snow gradually recedes to the summits of the mountains. Even the skies have a deeper and more resplendent blue. Nothing was green but the crops; the vegetation being scanty and arid, and the sun's rays powerful. In the former part of their route they had been daily shrouded in rain and mist; vegetation was luxuriant, and the slopes were vested with pine forests. Here, however, not a tree was visible but the drooping willow, which was planted. The soil was destitute of verdure, and the air felt dry and elastic." On the 2d of September he reached the last inhabited spot on the course of the Sooruj-Baga, *the river of the sun,* at an elevation of eleven thousand feet. The valley was prettily enamelled with villages and cultivation. The inhabitants, however, appeared poor, greasy, and ragged. He was hospitably greeted by a thakoor, or chief of the place. "It was now constant sunshine, and the temperature increased with the elevation; they were still in the vicinity of enormous masses of snow. Darcha is the last village in the dell, and the sun's rays, reflected from the barren sides of the rock, raise the temperature to 84° in the shade." He traced the Sooruj-

Baga to its source in a lake. "In crossing this lofty ridge the wind blew piercingly on one side, while the sun's rays were scorchingly ardent on the other. The extremely thin, dry, and cold air checks the vital energy with fearful rapidity. On the sixth day's journey from the inhabited limits, they ascended the Laitchee long range, which rose up abruptly, like a vast wall, from the bed of the Chandera-Baga. Along this tract are found marine fossil remains. At length, after a most toilsome journey over rugged and sterile mountains and rocky tracts, for the first time he pitched his camp upon the plateau of Tartary, at an elevation of nearly 16,000 feet. In front was a black ridge, having the uniform height of 3000 feet above his camp, yet there was no snow on its summit. The soil was almost without any vegetation, baked, hard, and thirsty. The skies were of the most resplendent indigo tint, and the air highly transparent." Alps on Alps seemed to rise before him to interminable heights. His associates fired at a wild horse which passed them, but the report was hardly audible, from the rarified atmosphere. A pack of wild dogs, quite red, was seen stealing along in a gulley. His progress was arrested by the wuzeer of Ladak, whose deportment, dress, and manner were showy, his conversation frank, and his appearance altogether prepossessing, and who, on the whole, seemed a jolly *bon vivant*. He had come to prevent any advance by the exploring party, but he desired to effect his object without

rude interference, yet his anxiety to remove Dr. G. fairly out of his sight and away from the precincts of his capital was extreme. The route in return was uncomfortable, from their exposure to cold night air in such a savage country; groups of wild horses passed them as they approached a dell opening upon Lake Chimorerel, where they encamped, and from which numerous herds of shawl goats, sheep, horses, and yaks (Tartar bulls) were seen. The dell, save towards the lake, was land-locked on every side, and the Chimorerel spread out its blue expanse to the foot of precipitous mountains. Their path skirted the shore of the lake, the whole circumference of which is embayed by mountains; but hill-ward, on its north-eastern shore, the mass of elevated land rose abruptly from the water's edge, and entered the regions of snow where their uniform margin was nineteen thousand feet high. This lake and Mansarowur have no efflux; but the absorbing power of the atmosphere is here so increased by rarefaction, that it serves to carry off the supplies derived from the vicinity. Upon the table-land of Thibet the air is so dry that frost is not visible upon the soil or grass, though the thermometer may stand at the zero of the scale. Repeated tours have recently been made among these grand and wonderful monuments of almighty power, and it is hoped that a pathway for commerce with Tartary and China may yet be opened, so as to afford facilities for intercourse and the means of improvement.

As descriptive of the present mode of travel and discovery, the following sketch will interest:— "The Tidung, at its junction with the Nungalti, when visited, presented a furious rapid stream of great declivity, for six or seven miles the fall being three hundred feet per mile, and in some places double; huge rocks were whirled along with frightful velocity; nothing visible but an entire sheet of foam and spray, thrown up and showered upon the surrounding rocks with loud concussion, and re-echoed from bank to bank with the noise of the loudest thunder: around, the blue slate mountains tower eighteen thousand feet, in sharp detached groups or pinnacles, covered neither with vegetation nor snow, and exhibiting decay and barrenness in its most frightful aspect. Here was a Tartar village found, called Huns. Where the dell was narrowest, there was so little space for the river that the road continued but for a small distance on the same side; and over this frightful torrent the English travellers had repeatedly to cross, on ropes or sangas, loosely hung from rock to rock on either side. Messrs. Gerrard, one while, picked their way upon *smooth* surfaces of granite, *sloping* to the raging torrent; at another time the route led among huge masses and angular blocks of rock, forming spacious caves, where sixty persons might rest: here the bank was composed of rough gravel, steeply inclined to the river; there the path was narrow, with precipices of five or six hundred feet below; whilst the naked towering peaks and mural rocks,

rent in every direction, threatened the passenger with ruin from above. In some parts of the road there were flights of steps, in others frame-work or rude staircases, opening to the gulf below. In one instance, the passage consisted of six posts driven horizontally into clefts of the rocks, about twenty feet distant from each other, and secured by wedges. Upon this giddy frame a staircase of fir spars was erected of the rudest nature; twigs and slabs of stone only, connected them together—no support on the outer side, which was deep and overhung the terrific torrent of the Tidung; the rapid rolling and noise of which was enough to shake the stoutest nerves. Some of these passages had been swept away, and new ones had to be prepared on the spur of the moment for the British discoverers. From the confluence of the Tidung with the Sutlege, the town of Ribe has a charming appearance; yellow fields, extensive vineyards, groves of apricot, and large well-built store-houses, contrast with the neighbouring gigantic mountains." At Zinchin, 16,136 feet above the sea, where their progress was arrested by Chinese guards, the travellers observed about two hundred wild horses, sometimes feeding and sometimes galloping on the tops of the heights; eagles and kites were soaring into the deep, blue æther; "large flocks of small birds, like linnets, were flying about, and beautiful locusts jumping among the bushes. At times the sun shone like an orb of fire, without the least haze; the stars and planets with a brilliancy only

to be seen from such an elevation; and the part of the horizon where the moon was expected to rise could scarcely be distinguished before the limb touched it: the atmosphere sometimes exhibited the remarkably dark appearances witnessed in polar latitudes." Vegetation and animal life appear in far higher regions on the faces of these mountains towards the north, than on the faces of the south —towards Tartary than towards Hindostan.

These giant mountains are yet more worthy of notice, as supplying the fountains whence issue the most noted and sacred streams of the Hindoos. Mansarowur and Chimorerel are mountain lakes, which have been regarded as the parent wells of the Ganges and Burrampootra by some geographers; a position eagerly denied by others: while the Gangoutri, *the bull's mouth,* on the brink of an inaccesssible and perpetual mountain of snow, is revered by the Hindoos as the true source of the Ganges. The main sources of this river are now presumed to be on the southern side of the great Himalaya chain. Yet, according to the lines and marks of engineer surveyors laid down on the best constructed maps, the Sind, the Sutlege, the Gogra and Burrampootra, originate within a few miles of each other, and the Jumna only a little farther west. Jucko is described as an elevated point among these lofty hills, of a conical shape, insulated and crowned by garnets; its waters, more precious in that land than the most precious stones, are thrown from the corresponding de-

clivities, towards the Bay of Bengal on one side, and the Gulf of Cutch on the other: the one by the intersections of the Ghiri or Gogra, the Tonse, and the Jumna, to the united Ganges; and the other by the Sutlege and the Sind: it is but a pathway that marks the divergence of the twin rivers, which are ultimately separated 1500 miles. The Ganges and the Burrampootra are strangely combined in their origin and their destiny—they part to meet again; the one after it has watered the eastern plains of Hindostan, and the other when it has wandered by the northern face of the Himalayas and swept round their base, dividing Thibet from Assam, it enters Bengal by Goalpara, and finally unites with the Ganges about forty miles from the sea. The two streams are as different from each other in character as masculine and feminine: one creeps slowly through fertile plains, under the pressure of superstitious reverence for gods and cows; the other rolls over rugged and barren wastes, where beef is worshipped by keen appetites rather than by idolatrous fear.

Burrampootra, or Brahmapootra, is the most eastern river connected with British India, and is traced to the 82d degree east long. and the 32d north lat. among the Caillas mountains for its source. It passes with a rapid current through Thibet, and having washed the border of the territory of the Teshoo Lama, it reaches within thirty miles of his capital in Lassa. By its numerous channels, it forms a multitude of islands, and flows with

a vast sweep as far to the east as to reach within 220 miles of Yunan, the most western province of China. At 91° 18′ east long., having divided into two branches, it forms an island 120 miles long. Including its windings, this great river has a course of about 1650 miles: on the borders of Assam it is obstructed by cataracts; and for sixty miles before it joins the Ganges, the breadth of its stream is from four to five miles. Its junction with the Ganges produces an immense body of fresh water, which but for its freshness might be considered an arm of the sea, and is only exceeded by the great rivers in Africa, or the Amazons and Orinoca in South America. The number and variety of names applied to the ramified sources of the Ganges, defy arrangement or uniformity; the Teestah, Gonduck, Gogra, Ramgunga, Calli and Jumna, the Tonse and the Girree, or Ghiri, are all named as primordial branches; and these have been classified under three principal sources—the Jumna, the Bhagiruthi and the Alcanunda. The Jumnantri is a place of pilgrimage, whence boiling springs issue at the temperature (194·7) at which water is converted into steam; it is 10,849 feet above the level of the sea, and is one of the reputed sources of the Jumna. Tonse, (Touse,) 12,784 feet high, another branch, which has its exit from a snow-bed, is 31 feet wide and knee deep, and for several miles of its course nothing but snow is perceptible. The Jumna is associated with the Girree, or Ghiri, as well as the Tonse:

it runs into Hindostan by the province of Serinnuggur, and flows in lat. 32° 22′ north, parallel with the Ganges, at the distance of forty miles. This river is about two hundred and fifty yards broad when it emerges from the mountains; and, having swept off from the line with the Ganges, directs its current through Delhi and Agra, and draws toward the more sacred stream again, till it reaches Allahabad, where the Jumna is absorbed in the Ganges. The Bhagiruthi seems the next tributary in importance, and derives great celebrity from Gangoutri, *the cow's mouth:* this is a snow-bed, or glacier, walled in by stupendous heights and the unbroken sides of the Himalayas: the rivulet issuing thence measures 27 feet wide and 18 inches deep. A rock is said to stand in the midst of the rushing stream, which resembles the body and head of a cow. This branch is reckoned very sacred, and having wound its course round the loftiest peaks, among which is Sri Kanta, more than 20,000 feet high, it divides itself into three channels at Hurdwar.

This celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage is a great mart for commerce. Pilgrims of both sexes resort thither from all parts of India to perform their ablutions in the venerated waters. This concourse of pilgrims occurs in April, when great numbers of merchants also attend, and one of the largest fairs in Hindostan is held. The town has only one street, about 15 feet in breadth and a furlong and a half in length, yet the average number of persons collected exceeds 300,000; and

once in twelve years, when particular ceremonies are observed, the numbers are more than trebled. It was computed that in April 1809, two millions of strangers were assembled. It is about a thousand miles distant from Calcutta.

The Alcanunda is by many acknowledged to be the main branch of the Ganges, and has numerous tributaries. The temple of Bhadrinath is situated near to its origin, among mountains elevated 22,000 feet above the ocean level. It is in the middle of a valley nearly four miles in length and one in breadth; and, surrounded by a town of twenty or thirty huts, the residences of the Brahmins, is considered a place of great sanctity. The temple is built in the form of a cone, with a cupola, forty or fifty feet high, on the top of which is a gilt ball and spire. The image is of human form, of black stone, and about three feet in height; is much resorted to by pilgrims from all places in India; 50,000 annually are said to make their offerings as fakirs at the shrine. Bhadruath, *the lord of purity*, is said to possess 700 villages; yet his temple has been shattered by an earthquake, and left in a ruinous condition. Four or five miles above this temple, the stream is narrowed to eighteen or twenty feet, and the north faces of the mountain are completely covered with snow from the summit to the base. Beyond this place but a little is a cascade named Barsiè d'Hara, where the Alcanunda (sometimes called the Vishnuganga) was entirely concealed under immense heaps of snow,

beyond which no traveller has been known to pass. In these lofty regions beyond Bhadrinath, stands the populous town of Manah, consisting of 200 houses; the inhabitants of a different race from the generality of the mountaineers; and from their broad faces, small eyes, and olive-coloured complexions, evidently of a Tartar origin. Not less holy in the esteem of the Hindoos, though less frequented from the difficulty of access, is the source of the main stream of the Alcanunda, named Caligunga; near which is situated the temple of Kedar-nath, at an elevation of nearly 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. At this, or some neighbouring shrine, on the summit of a range of peculiar form, sacrifices of human victims are said to have been, and it is feared are still offered to the Hindoo goddess Cali—a hellish and monstrous demon. The Ganges is, by recent computation, 1,800 miles long; and 500 miles from the sea the channel is thirty feet deep, even during the dry season, when the river is lowest; and its width makes it appear an inland ocean. Thus, having issued many thousand feet above the level of the sea, from an arch of deep frozen layers of snow 300 feet high, and from amidst hoary icicles of gigantic magnitude, the deified Ganges, as the instrument of Infinite Goodness and Power, has rolled on through extensive plains, watering, refreshing, and blessing the lands of thirty millions of human beings. The height of the river is, at Allahabad, 348 feet above the level of the sea: it

never rises less than 34, and never more than 45 feet by tides or inundations. Steam ships now pass and repass as far as Allahabad, 1,000 miles from the sea, extending facilities for commerce, and conveying the benefits of improved intercourse between the remoter regions, to the evident advantage of all classes and tribes in Hindostan.

There are many intermediate and minor rivers between the west and eastern boundaries of India, which have, from local superstitions or scenes of conflict and conquest, become known in Asiatic geography. The Godavery, the Cauvery and Coleroon, the Toombuddra, Malpurba and Kistna, the Sepra, the Nerbudda, the Taptee and Mhye, are neither insignificant nor subordinate rivers, when compared with some of our own most navigable embouchures. But beside these we must not omit the Punjab, *the five rivers,* and the Sinde, or Indus. The Punjab was early honoured with a Grecian fame from the campaigns of Alexander; and hence they are celebrated as the Hysudrus, or Sutlege; the Hyphasis, or Bhyeah; the Hydroates, or Ravee; the Acesines, or Chenaub; the Hydaspes, or Jhylum. The Sutlege is of all these the most deserving of note; deriving its origin from the Himalayas, rising from a fountain 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, and gathering its tributary waters from both the south and north faces of these sky-built fortresses, it traverses hill and dale, by winding paths and deep ravines, till after a course of many hundred miles

and its junction with the Bhyeah, the Ghurrah, and the Chinnaow, it pours into the Indus a powerful and gushing torrent, and contributes to widen that majestic river. The Ravee, the Chinaub, and the Jhylum, flow through the same plains, though they spring not from such an elevated source as the Sutlege; they water and fertilize the provinces of Lahore and Moultan, and then pour their confluent tide into the bosom of the imperial Indus. The track of this greatest of all Asiatic, or rather Indian, rivers, is long and prosperous. Cradled in its infancy in the common birth-place, nursed from the same elements, and deriving its lineage from the same source with the Ganges and the Burrampootra, and holding a twin relationship with the Sutlege, it parts as with a farewell embrace from its younger and gentler sisters to wander through the devious wilds of Chinese Tartary in tracts unexplored, and perhaps inaccessible, to the north of the Himalayas. By a northern branch it winds round toward Luchdek in Thibet, and forms a junction with a second branch, both called the Sinde or Indus, at the town of Durass, 100 miles north-east from Cashmere, and is still fed by the mountain torrents which wash down the northern breasts of the Himalayas. Prior to their union, one of these branches is seventy yards broad, and excessively rapid. The accumulated waters roll onward with a broader and more resistless course, till the river has forced its way through the mountains, called the Hindoo Cooch, or Cush, and

enters Hindostan in lat. 35° 15′ north. As it owed its early expansion and magnitude to the melted snows and ice of the crested summits of the northern Himalayas and the rains and floods of Chinese Tartary, so now it swells to a wide and magnificent river by the showers of Caubul, and the torrents which fall from the south sides of the snow-clad mountains. About sixty miles below its emergence from among the mountains, it receives the Attock, and increases to about three quarters of a mile in breadth, and becomes so deep as to be no longer fordable, confined between high mountains; and winding its way among hills, which presented numerous barriers to its triumphant progress, it has been again and again divided into various branches, and has left behind innumerable islands; and finally, having acquired greater power, it now flows onward from Harrabah, through the rich valley of Esa Khels, which it enters in four great branches. These streams are joined, after a parallel course of 180 or 200 miles, in the thirty-first degree of north latitude, when the mighty tide rolls on, with a resistless and undivided current, till it is united with the five rivers of the Punjab. The course of the confluent stream is then south, east, and west, in a meandering channel. The Hon. Mons. Elphinstone crossed the Indus in 1809, in lat. 31° 28′, and found the breadth of the river, then at its lowest, 1,905 yards, and its greatest depth twelve feet: this depth extended across, only 100 yards. The place where he crossed was above the

junction of the streams, and he found the other branches 500, 200, and 50 yards broad. The descent of the Indus to the ocean is gentle, and the average rate of its current is two miles and a half an hour.

From Luchdek to the sea, Mr. Elphinstone estimated the length of the Indus at 1,350 miles; but from its source the distance is reckoned, by the latest computations, 2,070 miles; and from the mouths of the Indus to Lahore, 760 geographical miles, there is depth sufficient for vessels of 200 tons burden; whilst in some places it is from four to nine miles broad. It begins to swell in the middle of July, and increases from the melted snows till the end of August. The navigation from Tatta, the capital of Scinde, to Moultan and Lahore, is free, and the trade extensive. About thirty miles below Hyderabad, Captain Burnes saw the river, nearly a mile broad, studded with boats from bank to bank, which moved majestically forward at the rate of three miles an hour. The waters of the Indus enter the ocean in two principal branches, forming a delta of rich alluvial land, 125 miles wide at the base, and 80 miles in length, from the vicinity of Tatta, where they separate. The lower part of the delta is intersected by rivers and creeks in almost every direction, and the lower section is covered by nothing greater or more profitable than brushwood. The lakes are muddy, and the swamps are noisome, though all capable of improvement and the highest cultivation through means of industry and capital. The

higher district of the delta is well tilled, yielding abundance of rice; the soil from Buree to Toorta is peculiarly rich and extensively improved by culture. The exuberance of vegetable life exhibited here strongly contrasts with the parched deserts of the neighbouring province, while the agricultural activity of the husbandman in the construction of irrigating canals and bridges for transit, of wells, and other means of rendering the land productive, indicates both energy and enterprise, prudence and security. At seventy miles from the sea the *tide* is scarcely perceptible. The rise during full moon is nine feet at the mouths of the river: the influx is then rapid and dangerous, running at the rate of four miles an hour. Such velocity is, however, limited: since it is calculated that the volume of the Indus exceeds by four times the size of the Ganges, in the dry season, and nearly equals the Mississippi. There are no rocks or rapids to obstruct the ascent, and the current does not exceed two and a half or three miles, when joined by the Punjab. The shallows in this lower part, during the dry season, are never less than fifteen feet deep, and the breadth half a mile.

There is, perhaps, no country which possesses greater inland facilities for commerce than the region which is bounded on the west by this noble river, and intersected by the waters of the Punjab. The fertile and fruitful vale of Cashmere limits its sceptre on the north; situated so that it can export,

without trouble, its costly fabrics to the contiguous kingdoms of Persia and Tartary, of China and India; and, midway between Hindostan and the chief entrepôts of Central Asia, it shares the advantages of their traffic, and is blessed with an exuberance of every production useful and nutritious to man. The manufactures and produce of this country embrace the luxuries and conveniences, as well as the necessaries of life. The shawls of Cashmere and the fabrics of Moultan provide robes for the courtiers and chiefs; husbandmen and citizens are furnished with cheaper textures in their native cottons. The grain indigenous to the country affords a bounteous supply for all domestic animals; the uplands yield condiments and fruits to season the daily bread; while mountain ranges of rock salt furnish that necessary and healthful ingredient of food in abundance. The staple commodity of the Punjab is the shawl manufacture of Cashmere—a fabric which no exertion of foreigners can imitate for its delicacy, warmth, and comfort. But the commercial genius of the people has introduced the manufacture of silk, though the *worm* be unknown in the countries of the Punjab. The strength of texture and brilliancy of hue of the *kais*, or silk stuffs of Moultan, woven only in shawls and scarfs, have secured to them an extended reputation in the Indian market. The *piece* silk of Umritsir, Lahore, and Moultan, called *atlas*, competes with similar manufacture of other lands: they have also *kincob*, or brocade, and shawl carpets; the latter

of unsurpassed splendour. The natives of Rohun and Hoshyarpore, to the east, are skilful manufacturers of cotton; and their looms furnish white cloth of various value, some as high as two shillings per yard, and some only sixpence per yard; it is strong and durable. Gold is found; and, besides salt, veins of coal and mines of iron have been discovered: matchlocks and swords are formed; and the warlike weapons of Lahore have been renowned among the Indian nations: sulphur, nitre, and the best charcoal supply their manufacture of gunpowder. Wheat and barley are produced to meet the demand; but gram, moong, mut, and bajree, besides other grain, find here a market. Rice and sugar-cane thrive luxuriantly, and indigo is reared for exportation. The sesamum plant supplies a valuable oil; and the finest tobacco is grown in Moultan. Turnips, carrots, and other excellent vegetables, are produced everywhere; while most of the vines and fruit trees common to Europe may be seen in Kishtwar and Cashmere. The land we have now traversed is fruitful, and her stores yield corn and wine, oil and salt. Let the people enjoy good government, and the blessings of the true religion, and they will find the lines fallen unto them in pleasant places, and their possessions a goodly heritage.

Before we leave the rivers and seas, the floods and climate of Hindostan, the Indian monsoon deserves a notice. Some conjecture that the word derived its application from the name of a pilot, who

made his way across the Indian ocean by observing the prevalence of the *trade wind.* The change of the trade wind from east to west, or from west to east, is accompanied generally by violent and broken weather; deluges of rain and cold seasons attend them, and they are followed on land by a regeneration of the vegetable world, and the most cheerful transformation of the face of nature. The monsoon from the west breaks up on the Malabar coast at one season, and on the Coromandel coast it breaks up from the east at a different season of the year; but a greater quantity of rain usually falls in the province of Malabar than on the opposite coast. Sometimes the rain falls in such torrents as to prevent egress from their houses to the European inhabitants during successive days; and even so as to confine visitors who may have gone out only for a morning call. There are generally official notices given, as from the flag staff, to intimate that vessels should leave the roads, otherwise I believe insurances are forfeited. Where the peril has been braved, sometimes vessels have been overtaken by hurricanes as violent as any western tornado, when many lives and much property have been lost. The 15th of October is the day for signal at Madras. I have witnessed similar phenomena to what are described by the Rev. Mr. Caunter, and would do him the justice to testify that he has admirably delineated this and many other scenes.

"On that very morning some premonitory symptoms of the approaching 'war of elements'

had appeared; small fleecy clouds were perceived, at intervals, to rise from the horizon, and to dissipate in a thin and almost imperceptible vapour, over the deep blue of the still bright sky. There was a slight haze upon the distant waters, which seemed gradually to thicken, although not to a density sufficient to refract the rays of the sun, which still flooded the broad sea with one unvarying mass of glowing light. There was a sensation of suffocating heat in the atmosphere, which at the same moment seemed to oppress the lungs and depress the spirits. Towards the afternoon the aspect of the sky began to change; the horizon gathered blackness, and the sun, which had risen so brightly, had evidently culminated in glory to go down in darkness, and to have his splendour veiled from human sight by a long gloomy period of storm and turbulence. Masses of heavy clouds appeared to rise from the sea, black and portentous, accompanied by sudden gusts of wind, that shortly died away, being succeeded by an intense, death-like stillness, as if the air were in a state of utter stagnation, and its vital properties arrested. It seemed no longer to circulate, until again agitated by the brief but mighty gusts which swept fiercely along, like the giant heralds of the storm. Meanwhile the lower circle of the heavens looked a deep brassy red, from the partial reflection of the sun-beams upon the thick clouds which had now everywhere overspread it. The sun had long passed the meridian, and his rays were slanting

upon the gathering billows, when the black and threatening ministers of the tempest rose rapidly to the zenith.

"About four o'clock the whole sky was overspread, and the deep gloom of twilight was cast over the town and sea. The atmosphere was condensed almost to the thickness of a mist, which was increased by the thin spray scattered over the land from the sea by the violence of the increasing gales. The rain now began to fall in sheeted masses, and the wind to howl more continuously, which, mingling with the roaring of the surf, produced a tumultuous union of sounds perfectly deafening. The wind, with a force which nothing could resist, bent the tufted heads of the tall, slim cocoa-nut trees almost to the earth, flinging the light sand into the air in eddying vortices, until the rain had either so increased its gravity, or beaten it into a mass, as to prevent the wind from raising it. The pale lightning streamed from the clouds in broad sheets of flame, which appeared to encircle the heavens, as if every element had been converted into fire, and the world was on the eve of a general conflagration; whilst the peal which instantly followed was like the explosion of a gunpowder magazine, or the discharge of artillery in the gorge of a mountain, where the repercussion of surrounding hills multiplies with terrific energy its deep and astounding echoes. The heavens seemed to be one vast reservoir of flame, which was propelled from its voluminous bed by some invisible

but omnipotent agency, and threatening to fling its fiery ruin upon every thing around. In some parts, however, of the pitchy vapour by which the skies were by this time completely overspread, the lightning was seen only occasionally to glimmer in faint streaks of light, as if struggling but unable to escape from its prison—igniting, but too weak to burst, the impervious bosom of those capacious magazines in which it was at once engendered and pent up. So heavy and continuous was the rain, that scarcely any thing, save those vivid bursts of light which nothing could arrest or resist, was perceptible through it. The thunder was so painfully loud that it frequently caused the ear to throb; it seemed as if mines were momentarily springing to the heavens. The surf was raised by the wind, and scattered in thin billows of foam over the esplanade, which was completely powdered with the white feathery spray. It extended several hundred yards from the beach; fish upwards of three inches long were found upon the flat roofs of houses in the town during the prevalence of the monsoon, either blown from the sea by the violence of the gale, or taken up in the water-spouts, which are very prevalent in this tempestuous season."

To describe the productions of India in the vegetable, mineral, and animal kingdom, would be a pleasing task, and would be acceptable as well to the traveller as to the reader, were this the proper time and place. But it is not necessary here, and comes not within my limits, to furnish minute

details. The forests of India, the jungles, and ghauts, afford a wide field for the botanical student and the naturalist. The diversity, number, and gigantic stature of the forest trees of this country are equal to the timber of any land; the oak, teak, pine, fir, cedar, cypress, ebony, walnut, jack, chestnut, kaniyen, sissoo, saul, jarrool, hornbeam, yew, poon, mango, acacia, &c. are the more familiar among the forests; the palm and cocoa-nut tree, the plantain, custard-apple, shaddock, orange, lemon, quavà, tamarind, graffed mango, the rose-apple, the citron, the flat peach, the laquat, the almond, peach, nectarine and apricot, pomegranate, palm, grape-vine, quince, mulberry, fig, cherry, apple, pear; the tamertunga, the country gooseberry, and numerous other fruit trees; are reared in the south and north, in the east and western parts of India, in myriads, and render their fruits in season. Even maple, dog-wood, service-tree, holly, juniper, box, logwood, mahogany, seem to naturalize and flourish as well as the bamboo, the rattan, and the banian. Strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, and rasps, currants, black and white, mingle with the myrtle, balsam, violet, marigold, the red and white jasmine, the red and white honeysuckle, the geranium, and the daisy, on the ever-verdant sod, in fine perfection. On the Nielghiries, the Cossya hills of Sylhet, and in the alpine regions of Kumaon, the extremes of east and west, and in the farthest north, such are the fruits which a teeming soil produces under patient culture. The sugar-cane, the coffee-tree,

and the tea-plant, grow to the greatest maturity, and afford the richest and choicest supplies for human wants; cotton, silk, and flax; wheat, rice, barley, potatoes, and arrowroot; turnips, parsnips, onions, carrots, peas, beans, and vetches; brocoli, spinach, radishes, artichokes, cucumbers, cabbage, cauliflowers, and all other like kinds of culinary vegetables; are cultivated by the Hindoo husbandmen as successfully as their more common grains and vegetables, millet, maize, raggy, sweet potatoe, yams, &c. In every district, there is land fit for such productions, or at least within accessible distances; I have seen cabbages and apples sent from Bangalore to Madras, and graffed mangoes forwarded from Chittore to Madras and Bangalore. Drugs and medicinal herbs grow spontaneously, or under easy management. Tobacco and opium abound in different provinces; senna in Tinnevelly, Peruvian bark in the Nielghiries, and ipecacuana in almost any part; rhubarb, coriander, cummin, assafœtida, as well as cinnamon, pepper, cassia, and cardamoms; ginger, cloves, nutmegs, and mace, besides the castor-tree and aloes, with many other articles found in the pharmacopœia, or as condiments in the culinary art, are raised in British India from their native soil, and secure to Englishmen a supply equal to the largest demand.

In Hindostan the Creator has furnished not only every herb for food, but also all cattle after his kind, for the service of man; the zoology of India presents to us a population in the air, on the earth,

and in the waters under the earth, upon which discovery will exhaust itself, and where the infinite wisdom of the glorious Author of *all being* will be traced in ten thousand paths. The creeping-things, the fish in the waters, the multitudinous insects which people the air, the beasts of the forest and the field, the fowl of the heaven, and the tribes which range upon a thousand hills, would afford matter for voluminous details, exciting to wonder, and claiming a loud and harmonious hymn of praise. The shepherd, the farmer, the fowler, the hunter, the sportsman, and the toil-worn labourer, have all scope for their pursuits, and means subservient for their pleasures or engagements. "The gigantic and gregarious elephant," whose herds are numerous as droves of cattle in some places, "usurps the dominion of the forest; the lonely and ferocious tiger infests every jungle;" chetas, wolves, wild boars, jackalls, and wild dogs, hyenas, monkeys, wild buffalos, and horses, range through the deep forests, prowl upon the unsheltered villagers, roam over the uncultured plains, and devour helpless children in hundreds every year. Alligators and serpents of every hue and poisoned fangs; scorpions whose power is in their tail, the loathsome guana, the cold-blooded lizard, with insects of every name, winged or creeping; the ant, the mosquitoe, and the bug, &c.; prove how prolific is nature, how abundant is the provision made for the sustenance of animated being; and how thinly peopled, how partially reclaimed, is the soil of

India by industrious and energetic men. The cow, the sheep, and the goat; the horse, the camel, and the elephant; the bull, the buffalo, and the ass; have been subordinated to the service of civilized as well as military life in India. "Animated nature here luxuriates in all its primitive grandeur, whether we regard the magnitude, the multitude, or the beauty which everywhere adorns and fills the higher and lower regions. Happy however for man, the Creator has ordained that the subordinate creatures should prey on each other: were it not so, the evergreen surface of India must soon become a wilderness." Its ornithology, as well as all other branches of its natural history, would lead into details not suited to the desultory nature of these gleanings, and occupy such portion of my pages as I wish to devote to other more practical inquiries. It has been erroneously supposed that the Hindoos as a nation or people abstain from animal food. Some of the Brahminical tribe do inculcate such abstinence as a virtue; but it is rather only the cow for which they cherish a superstitious and inconsistent veneration. Many good Hindoos, who are strict sticklers for caste, enjoy their mutton chop, and feed upon the fish of the river and the sea as freely as any British settler.

The nations and tribes who severally constitute portions of British dominion in the East, or are subjects of our subsidized and dependent allies, are numerous and diversified. The primary races, kindreds, and tongues, are distinguished by dis-

similar and opposing habits, prepossessions, and interests. In Hindostan there are, at least, thirty nations, speaking as many distinct languages, and the greater number of them ignorant of the state or character of each other as nations. The Bengalees are strangers to the Mahrattas; the Seikhs and Tamulians being equally unknown to both, or to one another. The inhabitants of the Carnatic, of Guzerat, and the Duab, differ from each other in language, manners, and physiognomy, as widely as do the Russians, Spanish, and English; and the population who inhabit the shores of Malabar and Coromandel singularly contrast with each other, and are each as clearly distinguished from the Rajpoots, or the inhabitants of Pegu and Assam. The Jains of Central India and the Buddhists of Ceylon have no affinity in religion or features with the Brahminical tribes. There are many Asiatic Jews, Armenians, and Syriac or Nestorian Christians; and 600,000 mongrel Hindoos who acknowledge the papacy of Rome. The Batties and Catties; the Ghorkas, Thugs and Phasingars; the Pindaries, Nairs and Moplies; the Mughs, Gossiens and Scindians; the Poligars, Sontals and Concanese; the Muniporeans, Coolies and Assamese; the Mhairs, Meenas and Khaits; the Puharees, Todawars and Malays; the Ghonds, Loodanahs and Brinjaries; Moguls, Telingars, Dorians, Grassias, Byragies, and Bunnias; the Jauts, Bhats and Mewatties, with a dozen other tribes; are subject to the authority and influence

of English governors, whether statesmen or not. Parsee exiles, or fire-worshipping Ghebers, descended from the original inhabitants of Persia, and Chinese adventurers, have settled in thousands on the west and eastern frontiers of British India. Arabians from the straits of Babel-Mandeb and the shores of the Persian Gulf are continually arriving and mingling among their brethren of the Moslem faith, who are scattered in all places of British India, and amount to a population of nearly twelve millions. Within what is now strictly British territory,—a region nearly as extensive as the continent of Europe,—about one hundred millions of Hindoos, Mohammedans, and other tribes, bow to the sceptre of England; the destiny of fifty millions more, under tributary or subsidized governments, is subject to the overruling authority of British counsels. The chief of these nations are the gigantic fragments of principalities and powers which bore rule when Britons were only barbarians. Numerous sections of the aboriginal tribes have been broken down and mingled into crude and elemental confusion, and are dependent for reorganization upon the predominant influence of their successful conquerors. Their national habits, institutions, sympathies, and interests, have been loosened and perverted; they have become aliens to their ancestral kindred. The laws of all have been modified or abrogated: primeval languages have become obsolete, and new dialects have been introduced. Their prejudices and the observances

of their religion have been endangered, assailed by slow but certain aggression, and their deformity or hideousness exposed by the increasing and triumphant culture of the mind, the diffusion of useful knowledge, and the light of gospel truth. Emigrants from Britain, whether as servants of the government and martial troops; or as merchants, mariners, shopkeepers, mechanics and clergy; number about fifty thousand in all India. But of Indo-Britons, or Eurasians, descendants of European and Hindoo parentage, the numbers exceed three hundred and fifty thousand, many of whom are enterprising and wealthy.

The physical condition of the native tribes it is not easy comprehensively to describe; and an extensive acquaintance with the country where they dwell, either by testimony or inspection, is a necessary preliminary for the formation of correct opinions regarding them. It was a fond conceit with some sinister adversaries of christian missions to represent the people of India as *innocent* Hindoos, and to speak of them either as of one family or of one religion. A better acquaintance, or a more impartial testimony, will *variously* describe the separate tribes as cruel, insidious, and sensual, though cunning, ambitious, talented, warlike; as roving, thieving, murdering, freebooting, and vindictive; sanguinary, untameable, and haughty; as filthy, mercenary, piratical, turbulent, bigoted, and degraded; as ferocious, depraved, dissolute, restless, mendicant, and avaricious. Such attributes can

not be wholly applicable to any one of the tribes; but one or other is not inappropriately employed to characterise the several nations which people British India. Except in some chief cities, many provinces in India are thinly inhabited; vast tracts of country lie uncultivated and desolate; fertile regions, where two or three crops might be reaped annually, are peopled only by straggling villages; and the population is something less than one-eighth of what is contained within the square mile in Britain. Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived by Englishmen, so that I have often passed through agricultural villages, and found the people preferring the road-side as their place of midnight rest; their food is of the coarsest fare, and insufficient to sustain animal strength; while even of this, their supply is far less than appetite required. The state of their rural mendicant poor beggars description: whenever one of them becomes sick, he has no resting-place, but is exposed to desertion, to be an outcast, or hurried from village to village, lest his death should entail a burden on his poor neighbours. The clothing of the labouring poor is not so much as will be a veil to cover the shame of nakedness: a rag not worth *threepence* is often the only garment for tender and feminine delicacy, for the aged parent, and the man of grey hairs. Few, if any of this class, in some districts, ever know what it is to enjoy the warmth and shelter of a midnight covering in seasons when the blanket would be valued, and its

protection be a blessing. Native labourers work for native masters sometimes for so low wages as a penny or twopence per day; and they are deemed well paid if they receive as servants to Europeans fourpence daily.

It is, however, in the oft-recurring scenes of famine, of dry seasons and partial crops, that the physical wretchedness of Hindoos is fully developed. None, but those who have been eye-witnesses of the horrors then realized, can imagine how prostrate and ruined is their condition under such a visitation. They have then no energy; they cannot invent—they can do nothing for themselves. They have no moral stamina, no mental resources, no true religious consolations, no common refuge, no confidence in the men who govern them, and no idea of security for the time to come. The land-owners and land-agents, provision-dealers and corn-merchants, prey upon the poor and needy, traffic in famine, and enrich themselves by wants and woes, the despair and death of the famished myriads. With the utmost vigilance only can charitable individuals minister, through the service of native merchants, to the relief of destitute and perishing sufferers. I have stood among them when the dead were lying at my feet, and when the dying fell by my side; when the leprous, maimed in hands and feet, exhibited their loathsome extremities; when old age and childhood were covered by the ulcers and pustules of the small-pox; when haggard famine sat upon the wan and sunken

cheek, and the hollow eye of thousands; when it was necessary to mete out the charity of a generous, foreign community under the protection of armed police peons; and when the wailings and feeble cry of the hungry and exhausted pierced and agonized the heart. The spectacle was not likely soon to fade from the memory, or the causes to escape inquiry. To prevent the tens of thousands, perishing in one country, from passing into neighbouring districts, it was deemed expedient to erect barriers, and place an armed force, lest they should paralyze the local benevolence which was struggling to mitigate the sufferings of the surrounding poor. I have seen the miserable and emaciated victims of famine searching among the *excrements* of camels, elephants, and cattle, for particles of grain which had passed undigested. Such scenes, if they occurred only once in the history of a nation, were enough to excite the commiseration of mankind, and bring suspicion upon the wisdom of the men by whom the people were governed. Unhappily, however, they have been of frequent recurrence in British India; *periodically* have they been experienced; three times within fifteen years. Private letters, official accounts, and other sources of information, unite with my evidence in representing that people subject to such alarming and consuming destitution; famishing myriads depending on the scanty supplies of charity; hundreds and thousands perishing from want and attendant diseases; villages and rural districts depopulated

by migration or death; the streams and rivers choked or poisoned by the putrid carcases of a people dying in too great numbers to be buried by surviving relatives: death not only arrayed in its most ghastly forms, but also serving to generate diseases at which trembling mortality shudders, and over which human courage and science can exercise no control. Cholera, with all its terrors, has been rendered even desirable, compared with the more fearful and resistless ravages of hydrophobia. Gaunt and squalid wretchedness, emaciated and skeleton forms, endued with a vigour which despair and rabid disease impart, have peopled the streets and hovered round the dwellings of European residents to indicate the misery and suffering which Hindoo subjects of the British crown endure.

In 1833, famine prevailed in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, during which the destruction was awful. More than 150,000 miserable creatures fled from their country to seek in the neighbourhood of the capitals the means of sustaining life. Myriads perished at home, and on the roads; and the remnant who did not abandon the country parts, and yet continued to sustain life, were reduced to a state of emaciation which defies description. Their personal appearance was scarcely human; their anatomy was nearly as much developed as that of actual skeletons; the articulation of each joint but for the skin might have been traced: their bellies were unnaturally swollen, and

their colour was of the deepest jet. These were British subjects, who had been taken under control, and made tributaries to the support of government; whose land was taxed so highly, that no more than seven sixteenths of the produce went to the husbandmen; and whose fruits of industry could be sold to no other merchant than their irresponsible government; while they had been able to purchase goods in no market but what their rulers furnished. It is a country where the tax and land collector, where the judges and arbiters in all contests or disputes, are the armed conquerors and rulers of the region. Are these rulers, to whom have been committed the destinies of alienated myriads, sufficient for so onerous a responsibility, while politicians and statesmen at home may be alike ignorant and indifferent to the immense interests at stake? Wise men would fear to assume the power and ascendency with which eastern rulers, not peculiarly gifted or experienced, have been invested.

India has been a field for the spoiler to reap since its earliest history. Native princes, by exorbitant and merciless exactions, indulged their extravagance and avarice till they had peeled and impoverished their subjects, or taught the more prudent and enterprising the necessity for craft and concealment,—for a dissembled poverty and secret hoards, if they would escape perpetual robbery. The rulers at Delhi and Agra, imperial princes and provincial rajahs, soubahdars and nabobs, when

they had accumulated wealth, heaped it only for the wholesale spoiler. The Zenghis Khans, the Tamerlanes, the Ackbers and Aurungzebes, passed over the land as a tempest, and swept away its wealth as with a whirlwind, or swallowed up the riches of tributaries and subjects till cities were laid waste, provinces were depopulated, golden heaps were carried off as a common spoil and an expected harvest. The scenes, too, of misery and desolation which accompanied European conquests, which attended the contests for ascendency between the English and French, and which were occasioned by the Mysore, the Pindarrie, the Mahratta, and Burmese wars, as recorded in military campaigns and the civil histories of British India, assure us how extensive must have been the suffering, and how disastrous the condition, of the wretched peasantry. Conflagration, rapine, carnage, and sanguinary battles, military executions and protracted and wasting sieges, served to desolate the country, to destroy the commerce, to interrupt manufactures, to prevent agriculture, to exhaust the resources, and consume the people of India. How large the price which has been paid for British conquest and Indian subjugation; how numerous the human sacrifices; how fearful the criminality and cruelty; it would not be easy to imagine or describe. But it has been affirmed that all India yet groans, while her teeming population is rapidly consuming in the midst of famine and poverty. The British power has been stretched over Hindostan by the employ-

ment of native armies: one nation has been marched against another, and one class has helped to subdue the other. While the British conquerors have never employed a larger force than thirty-seven thousand of European troops, the native Hindoo ranks have sometimes numbered more than 260,000 fighting soldiers, accoutred and upheld by British pay. It may, therefore, be supposed, as was the case, that the policy of the conqueror has been to elevate the few and depress the multitude; to cherish a native aristocracy, a landed gentry, and a dominant interest. A few in every province will be recognised as large proprietors, wealthy baboos, powerful zemindars, and prosperous adventurers. And although the ancient rajahs, or chiefs of feudal dynasties, have passed away, men have been raised up who occupy their place and power. Not a few among the Hindoos have acquired property and influence by their subserviency to English employers, and their consequent facilities for traffic and lucrative speculation. Such men have retired to their own country, and secured to themselves distinction and influence among their countrymen. These, however, must be regarded as exceptions to the general condition of the people rather than as any exemplification of the beneficence of British rule in India.

There is a difference in the condition of the Mussulmans who inhabit British India from the state of the Hindoo. The former are descendants of those accustomed to rule, many of whom had been

trained in arms; who followed as a licentious and domineering banditti, rather than the servile and obedient troops of *civilized* warfare: they have retained a more vigorous and independent character—what would be called more manly, though less soft, smooth, and winning, than the supple Brahmin. The Moslem is not so well liked by the haughty, indolent, and dominant English, as is the eunuch-like Hindoo, yet his mind is superior: he has a degree of greater elevation of sentiment and much greater energy of purpose and dignity of character; but is more intemperate and fiery in his religious bigotry; more cultivated, and susceptible of increased civilization, than the Hindoo, but also more luxurious and dissipated; fonder of war, its excitement and trappings, and more ready to resent injuries and chastise his enemies. His insincerity, mendacity, and perfidy; his selfish indifference to the feelings of others, and willingness to attain his objects by venality and prostitution; do not raise his moral character above the Hindoos. Yet the two classes harmonize in most social affairs; the Hindoos assisting at the celebration of Mohammedan festivals, and the Mussulmans as butchers slaughtering and cutting up the animal food used by the Hindoos. The Mohammedans are profuse when possessed of wealth, and devoted to pleasure; but their poor are not so wretched as those of the Hindoos.

The commerce and manufacture of nations have generally been deemed significant tests of their civilization, and their means of providing for

the physical wants of their domestic and relative circles. The ingenuity, enterprise, capital, and security of a people are presumed, according to the extent and variety of their productions, their access to markets, and powers of competition. If there be a teeming soil, a congenial climate, and a wise government, with a strong moral feeling, and a spirit of generous independence in the people, we should anticipate abundant markets, profitable returns, and social comfort. Now India has been a wide emporium for the world's traffic since the remotest days, and her rich and luxurious produce has been celebrated in all markets, carried by land and by sea to the remotest regions, and prized by the affluent or the ambitious. In earliest history, and for many ages, we find other nations were the adventurers and carriers of Indian merchandise, yet the Hindoos acted as their own factors, and derived the profits of the commerce for their own advantage. The people of this land held the distaff, and set up the busy loom; used the weaver's shuttle, and fabricated cloths for all purposes in the most ancient times—thousands of years before Britons knew how to wear such garments; nor have they lost the gentle craft even now, or ceased to ply the spindle or the beam. They have continued weavers of the finest as well as richest textures; their cottons and silks may vie with the manufactures of all lands; their sugars, their spices, and precious stones, equal the produce of western countries. But their conquerors have entered into

wide and successful competition with them for the supply of their own market; and, as merchant-rulers, have injured their interests by a forced commerce in unwrought wools and narcotic drugs, which have been bartered for the produce of China, and to supply the luxuries of Britain. The manufactures of India have been denied a free market in England, and English goods have been brought, almost untaxed, into the Indian market, so as to depreciate their home manufactures, or prevent the production of them in the Indian loom. Such has been the policy for the sugars, the spices, the drugs, the oils, the coffees, and the cocoas of India, when competing with the growth of plantation or western colonies. The biting sarcasm has, with perhaps too much justice, been applied—"Alas! all the protection that India has experienced has been protection to English trade and native idolatry. English trade, at whatever cost to the natives; and native idolatry (the only native thing protected at all) not only permitted—we have no right to put it down by force—but sanctioned, and promoted by christian influence!"

Our oriental possessions have been valued as they could be rendered productive in revenue, in patronage, and in political supremacy. But is this all? Is it all that should have been, or all that is implied in the providential dispensations by which Britain has become lord paramount of the soil, and dictator of the liberties of one hundred millions of Hindoos? Should the people have been nothing—

their moral, intellectual, and social improvement things of nought to the governors or usurpers? To sustain the reputation of a parental government, was it becoming that the comforts of their home, their necessary food, and their elevation in the scale of nations, in liberty, in well-ordered and equal government, in truth and virtue, should have occupied, comparatively, none of the cares of administration, have occasioned no anxiety to the ruler, and have been overlooked by the political watchmen in parliament and in the press? How much is the contrast against India, compared with the solicitude which has been publicly expressed for the negro! The population of the one, the negroes, are altogether a *million*, under British dominion; and of the other, the Hindoos, *one hundred millions* of British subjects. The negroes are generally shut up in the islands of the sea; the Hindoos are surrounded by myriads in neighbouring states, whose social condition will be affected by every change which can come on our Hindoo dominion. Persia, China, and all the kingdoms of further India, on the banks of the Burrampootra, and of the Indus, will share in the destinies of the nations who live upon the Ganges, the Nerbudda, the Kistna, and the Godavery. The states and islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the Malayan straits, have all an interest in the fate of British India. The principal tribes of those continuous lands are watching the progress of events under the influence of British sway, with trembling anxiety,

and are prepared to modify and regulate their policy according as the conduct of Anglo-Indian authorities may seem to warrant their conclusions.

The moral condition and religious character of these many tribes is in the highest degree calculated to excite the warm sympathies and concern of the philanthropist and the Christian. They are, with few exceptions, enveloped in gross darkness. The classical literature of a people will serve as an index of their moral character in past and present times. We discern in it the opinions and maxims which were current in the antiquity of the nation; and in the reverence or scepticism evinced towards it by the living generation we shall judge how far conformity subsists between the earlier and later times. What has been the aliment of thought, the food of the mind, through successive ages, will enable us to conclude what is the mental and moral character formed under such auspices. The classical literature of Europe, the poetry, the oratory, and the history of the Greeks especially, and of the Romans in an inferior degree, throw a flood of light on the state of mental culture and moral principle of the people who inhabited the states of Greece and Italy. And here we can trace passages of striking beauty and imposing sublimity, sentiments distinguished by generous, enlightened, and liberal enthusiasm, and occasional glimpses of principle, aspiring to a noble and lofty bearing, tending towards an expansive and refined freedom, and throwing an air of patriotism and philanthropy

over the pursuits and ambition of some of their scholars and heroes, their statesmen and private citizens. For their associations with history, their influence upon modern literature, and their presumed tendency to sharpen and chasten the literary tastes and intellect of our youth, they hold their place in the scholastic course of the rising generation. It is, however, necessary for the teacher who values the morals of the young to exercise discretion and forethought in selecting the portions which are to be read; while school editions, containing only as it is deemed the most harmless or the least dangerous portions, are frequently provided by the judicious and considerate. Yet, even when purified of much of their alloy, and taught in regions distant from the scenes described, and where the imagination can but obscurely realize the darker shades, these classics are in many cases discovered to have been extremely pernicious to the morals of the youthful scholar. The grossness of idea concerning divine things which they communicate to the mind, and the praises lavished on the deeds denominated virtuous, but which in reality are only splendid vices, are calculated to form in the learner a false estimate of moral distinctions, and to gloss over dark and evil deeds with the semblance of virtue and goodness. Whatever literature is contained, as classical learning, in the languages of India, must in every respect be necessarily much more pernicious and corrupting. They are the living languages of a people practising all

the abominations in worship and in manner of life, which their favourite authors so fully and minutely describe.

The language which Sir W. Jones conjectures might have been the primeval language of Upper India, the Hindee, upon the basis of which Hindustani has been formed, is not known to me to possess any literature, and the dialect derived from it is obviously destitute of any *classical* literature. From a certain analogy which he forms on the subject of the language of conquerors, he is almost induced to conjecture that the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors, in some very remote age, from other kingdoms. I do not adopt either his theory or analogy, though I differ, with the greatest deference, from so high an authority. As a language, the Sanscrit possesses a perfect construction, and is as copious as the Latin and Greek, with many grammatical intricacies. The roots of its verbs and forms of its grammar bear a strong affinity to these languages. The characters of its alphabet, reputed to have been taught by the divinity, and therefore designated *Devanagaree*, have been adopted for the languages of more than twenty kingdoms and states, with certain variations; and Sir W. Jones believed that the square Chaldaic letters in which most Hebrew books are copied were originally the same; while the Ethiopic and Phœnician bear a close relation to the Devanagaree. — An enthusiasm in literature may surely be carried to as great an excess as fanaticism

has ever gone in religion. Speaking of a commentary on a philosophical *Shastra*, Sir W. Jones says, "I am confident in asserting, that until an accurate translation of it shall appear in some European language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete, for I perfectly agree with those who are of opinion that one correct version of any celebrated Hindoo book would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays that could be composed on the same subject." To complete the climax, I may just add another sentence: "So I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the Vedas, and even in the works of the Sufis."

One should think this is bold enough! We may however remark, that this theology and philosophy were possessed of a wonderful self-secreting power. It has been bottled up in hermetical receptacles, without the power of expansion, and its influence upon those who were the *hidden ones* has been the reverse of productive and useful. Is this the nature of such philosophy? will such a germ produce no fruit? will an ointment so odorous and rich diffuse no perfume? or is it all so etherealized that it evaporates so soon as the precious vial is opened? I cannot avoid declaring that my inquiries have led to a far different estimate. I have held most familiar, frequent, and studious intercourse with Brahmins of no ordinary acquirements and sagacity,

who still adhered to the practices of their own creed. I have closely and repeatedly interrogated my own moonshees, or pundits, and sought to ascertain, not what was contained in the Shastras, but what was most commonly believed by the would-be-wise among the people,—what they understood was taught in the Puranas and the more sacred Vedas. I did meet with something which partook of the character of a mythological, metaphysical jargon, a sort of abstract, pantheistic mysticism, which might more properly be deemed the puerilities of philosophy, falsely so called. Sir W. Jones confesses that "one original treatise on medicine, considered as a science, in any language of Asia," does not exist. However, he exults in "the ample field" presented by *six* philosophical Shastras, for a development of the metaphysics and logic of the Brahmins," besides the works of the heterodox philosophers. I believe, however, that the instruction most valuable to be found in the Sanscrit belongs to grammar and the derivation of languages, which shoot out from it as from a parent stem. The poetical and religious fire which blazes out in some of the poems, as Sir W. Jones describes it, has entirely escaped my observation.

Hindooism is represented by its votaries as sustaining a harmony with the constitution of the visible world, though they "contend that it has no essence independent of mental perception; that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms." The religion of the Hindoos, and their philosophy,

are each interwoven completely with the other, and the rejection of one involves the rejection of the other: the tale of their philosophy is a web of sophistical deceits. Chemistry is with them the jargon of alchemy; their astronomy the vagaries of the astrologer; in hydrostatics and hydraulics their ignorance is practical and mischievous; in optics and pneumatics they are equally deceived. I have adopted the statement of Mill, whose historical work on India I diligently compared, in company with a Brahmin: his testimony is true. "It sufficiently appears that the accounts with which they satisfy themselves are merely such random guesses as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored minds! From intellect arose ether; from ether, air; from air, fire and light! It appears from this that they consider light and heat as absolutely the same. Their account of water and earth are links of the same chain. From light, a change being effected, comes water—water with the quality of taste; and from water is deposited earth, with the quality of smell. As from ether came air, so from air came light, from light water, and from water earth! It is useless to ask what connexion appears between water and light, or earth and water. Connexion, reason, probability, had nothing to do with the case; a theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writer; and all inquiry was out of the question. Air was endowed with the quality of touch; water and earth are said to have the qualities of smell and

taste. In this we perceive a most fantastic conceit. The qualities of taste, of smell, of light, of touch, and of hearing, are respectively ascribed to water, to earth, to fire, to air, and to ether. From hot moisture are born biting gnats, lice, fleas, and common flies: these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." The historian concludes, with great justice, "If this be an idea natural enough to the mind of an uncultivated observer, it is at least not a peculiar proof of learning and civilization."

But it matters little to the people of Hindostan what are the contents of the *philosophical Vedas*, sealed as they are under the mystic terms of the Sanscrit, a dead, and generally unknown language. The anathemas and denunciations, moreover, under which the intruder is bound, on his eyes if he shall read, in his ears if he shall hear, and on his tongue if he shall utter the sacred sentences of the Veda, unless he be a Brahmin, debar seven-eighths of the people from all access to these store-houses of presumed philosophy. It is in the Puranas and minor Shastras that the unprivileged herds may learn the contents of Hindoo literature. Stories from the Puranas are occasionally recited for entertainment or instruction among the people in the midst of their bazaars, or by the way-sides. I have stood and listened to these, when a circle of perhaps a hundred was seated on the ground, and the story-teller was placed by the lamp. These Puranas consist of fictitious tales or tragic stories of some

king or great chief, in far distant times, associated with some characteristic transaction of their gods. They contain generally a geographical delineation of the country where the scene is laid, and some historical allusions or traditions connected with the chronology of the age, and affording by synchronisms confirmation to other facts.. The episode of "Nala and Damayanti" is a tale of this description. At a display, common for kings to make, and their daughters to endure, in ancient times, when neighbouring princes were convened to a kind of tournament, Damayanti was about to bestow her hand on her favourite. Nala, the tamer of horses, was the object of her choice; and inflamed by love and impatience, he was hastening to the swayambara, when he was intercepted by certain gods, who wished to put his virtue to the trial. "Indra, the god of the firmament; Agni, god of fire; Yama, the judge of departed souls; and Varuna, the god of the waters; appeared in the air, in their celestial chariots, and alighting close to him, addressed him, "King of men, we rely on thy fidelity. Perform a service to the gods, and be our messenger." Nala, having worshipped the deities, promised obedience. "We are deities, come on account of Damayanti: I am Indra—these are the lords of fire and of the waters—and this the destroyer of mortal forms. Go to Damayanti, inform her of our arrival; that we desire her choice to fall on *one of us;* and use your own eloquence to persuade her to yield to our desires. Her bower is impervious to all others;

but by our celestial power you will enter unperceived." With great reluctance he complied, but obtained the princess as his reward, to the chagrin of the goddess Cali, one of the most monstrous of all hideous conceptions of deified crime, and who persecutes him and his associates, &c. Such is a specimen of the least dangerous or corrupting of these fictitious tales. In others the character of the deities are unveiled, and their deformity and pollution laid bare, not for abhorrence, but as a warrant for crime, and a pattern for human guilt. Thus: "Bramha was inflamed with evil desires towards his own daughter. Vishnu, when incarnate as Bamunu, deceived king Bulee, and deprived him of his kingdom. Shiva's wife was constantly jealous on account of his amours; and charged him with associating among women of a low caste at Cooch-Behar. The story of Shiva and Mohinee, a female form of Vishnu, is shockingly indelicate. Vrhihusputtee, the spiritual guide of the gods, committed a rape on his eldest brother's wife. Indra was guilty of dishonouring the wife of his spiritual guide. Suryu ravished a virgin named Koontee. Yumu, in a passion, kicked his own mother, who cursed him, and afflicted him with a swollen leg, which the worms are, to this day, constantly devouring. Ugnee was inflamed with gross desires towards six virgins, the daughters of as many sages. Buluramu was a noted drunkard. Vayu made the daughters of Dukshu crooked because they refused his

embraces, and he delighted in carnal connexion with a female monkey. Krishna's thefts, wars, and adulteries, are so numerous that his history embraces an unbroken series of crimes. The representations made of Cali exhibit her treading on the breast of her husband. Vishnu could not restrain the quarrels of his wives Lucksami and Saruswutee, and even in his own heaven was ravished with the charms of the courtesan Urvushee. In these sacred writings the government of the world is conducted by gods more wicked than men. The Creator and Preserver maintain perpetual hostility. The Preserver appears destroying and the Destroyer preserving, in moments of caprice or contumacy. Shiva granted on one occasion to Ravunu, the enemy of the gods, a favour which set all the heavens in an uproar, and drove 330 millions of deities into a state of desperation. Brahma created Kumbu Kurnu, a monster so large that he was afterward obliged to doom him to protracted somnolency, lest his appetite should produce a universal famine. It is a frequent effect of Brahma's power that consequences so appalling or injurious are produced, as to require the incarnation of Vishnu, or to entail the exile of the gods from their throne, and send them forth as mendicants, till all human affairs have been thrown into confusion, and all the elements are converted into instruments of hostility against the Creator, the Preserver, and the Reproducer. Brahma has often rashly so endowed some giant with power to

destroy the creation, and when, in the moment of peril, Vishnu and Shiva have been solicited to give their aid, they have confessed themselves unable to help the tottering universe. Mr. Ward, who has supplied this abridgement, asks with great force, "Can we expect a people to be better than their gods?" This doctrine of polytheism, and the intrigues, criminal amours, quarrels, and stratagems of the gods, have produced the most fatal effects on the minds of the Hindoos. The polluted strains of their conversation, their lascivious and wanton intercourse, the lecherous familiarities of the pagoda Brahmins with their courtesan establishments, the general habits of the people from earliest puberty, cannot be described; and no imagination can dream of the symbols of pollution which are used as ornaments for their pagoda architecture, or their distinguishing emblems.

Their land is filled with habitations of abominable cruelties, and their spirits are sunk under the power of the wicked one. The sensual and immoral forms of their religion; the licentious and corrupt conduct of their priesthood; the sanguinary, vicious, and unnatural rites and mysteries of their solemn worship; the delusive, unprofitable, and ruinously lavish sacrifices which their fanaticism dictates, and their superstition offers before their gods, but which their priests appropriate; prove but too plainly that they have become vain in their imaginations, that their foolish heart has been darkened, and that the whole sombre catalogue of

crime, given by inspiration in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, has been exemplified in them. The moral atmosphere has been polluted, and every thing which has come within its pestilent influence has been debased. Mohammedanism has become a more gross and shameless imposture. The Armenian Church has grown even more superstitious; popery has added to her delusion, her image worship, and her priestly intolerance; and the Christianity of the Syriac Church has sunk into a lifeless form—a name to live, destitute of all power or primitive simplicity. The millions of India have, from age to age, passed into eternity, and gone down into the grave with a deceived heart, a vain hope, as a prey to the spoiler. A whole people, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Burrampootra, have not practised the knowledge of the true God, and have lived as aliens from his favour. Their religion has but served to degrade their mental character, to aggravate their social miseries, to exhaust their natural resources, and to render their degradation and ruin more certain and universal. Their system of theology, their sacred Vedas and Puranas, their religious solemnities and offerings, have all been as wormwood and gall, the elements of death, and the poison of immortality. Such has been the condition of a hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, and what have we, as a people, done to alter or amend their state?

The government of Britain, as exercised in

India, have upheld the sacred places—the mosques of their Moslem predecessors; they have sanctioned and regulated, as by a legal calendar, the great feasts of Hindoo idolatry; the temples held most sacred, the gods most honoured, and the festivals most generally observed, have been protected, represented as sacred, and made a source of government revenue. Solemn treaties have been made between British rulers and Hindoo gods; the great idols have been clothed under the orders and subject to the directions of government with English broad-cloth, and their table furnished with a daily provision from the Company's godowns. Missions to arouse the fervour and increase the number of their devotees have been sent forth and rewarded under the arrangements and presidency of the British; the priests have been paid, and their licentious orgies and courtesans have been provided for from the treasury of the government. The highest and most officially dignified functionaries have been seated at the gates of idol temples, and received the revenue—the pilgrim tax; and men called Christians have been required to do honour to the stocks and stones; to fire salutes, and walk in processions, when these images were carried forth, reverenced and adored. Christian worship has been neglected, in some cases *set aside*, and the day which God has made for himself has been prostituted to the services of the mock deities by British authorities, civil and military. An ignominious brand has been fixed on the name of

Jesus, and converts to his faith from among the Hindoos have been removed from offices of trust, have been excluded from the Indian army, and refused the distinction or emolument of government service. I state all these matters, not upon hearsay report, or the calumnies of enemies or alienated friends. These things were not done in a corner. Christian missions were first resisted, opposed, and contemned; and afterwards, the labours of pious and devoted men were interdicted or placed under surveillance,. because the government had covenanted the protection of idol worship to the poor deluded devotees. Difficulties and impediments, the censorship of the press, dismissal from office or removal from the country, were the obstacles or the penalty in the way of benevolent efforts to enlighten the people on the subject of Christianity; while the lives of the great majority of the men called Christians were more depraved by licentious intercourse, by impure conversation, by dissipation and an outward disregard to all the forms and observances of religion, than were those of even many of the heathen themselves—than some whom I have met among the Brahmins, as well as other castes.

The force of public opinion at home, and the honoured labours of missionaries abroad; the change which has been slowly but perceptibly effected on the principles and characters of civilians and military authorities; and the influence of divine truth upon men raised up in India; have, at

last, though late, produced a change and a semblance of less sympathy and cooperation between the government and *native* idolatry: but so far as authority and government may be concerned, what is the precise benefit conferred? The zealous and well-meant efforts of Dr. C. Buchanan have been more than crowned with success. India has been territorially assigned to the Church of England, and a revenue secured by taxation and land rental from the Hindoos has been appropriated with imperial profusion. Bishops for Calcutta, for Madras, and for Bombay, with their several archdeacons, have been appointed and endowed so plentifully, and invested with such official importance, that the Lord Padre Sahib is second only in rank to the governors. Chaplains, in some seventy or eighty places, have been settled, whose annual cost is from ninety to one hundred thousand pounds, yielding salaries equal to some of the Irish and English rectories. The duties in some cases of these functionaries, such as prescribed, are, I know, faithfully discharged. In many instances, however, the offices may not be more beneficially performed than are some others nearer home; only they are not rendered odious by a direct tithe upon the labour of the idolaters. Revenues are also applied by government to support the priesthood and services of the Romish Church, from fifteen hundred to two thousands per annum, for twenty-eight or thirty priests. Some may fear that the prospect is not

far off when a heathen population shall be the nominal flock of a state-endowed clergy and a dominant hierarchy. Should there arise a strife between Anglican and Romish prelates, and their adherents for ascendency, it will be rather a hinderance than a means for the instruction and conversion of Hindoos, for the improvement of the moral and religious condition of that numerous people.

Inquiries of more than a national or political importance are suggested by the rapid summary, the rude outline, which has now been sketched; and questions which affect the policy and justice of all our past intercourse with Indian nations are started from the facts which have been narrated or implied. Some would demand, What have Britons gained,—what increased revenue, what profit upon invested capital, what advantages in commerce, what accessions of national power, have been realized,—by the conquest of India, by the extension of dominion which Great Britain has acquired in the East? Others would be more concerned to know if British conquests have altered or improved the condition of the natives of Hindostan; if the acquisition of paramount dominion by Englishmen in the East has been of advantage to the interests of the population generally, either in comparison with former governments, with the hereditary rajahs or the Mohammedan invaders, or contrasted with what should or might have resulted from the triumph of more enlightened rulers. The philan-

thropist or the moralist may be solicitous to ascertain whether English supremacy has conferred facilities for the ultimate development of the moral powers and resources beyond what could have been expected of the Hindoos themselves, or of the rulers whose power we have subverted. Has the triumph of English arms been a blessing or a curse to India? and is it desirable for the greatest good, and as a probable means of securing the advancement of that people in knowledge and virtue, that British rule should be prolonged in Hindostan?

So many were the despots who swayed the sceptre, and so relentless their usurpation; so pervading the superstition, so dark and deadly its influence; that Asia had no good institutions of which her enemies could despoil her. Anglican dominion must, therefore, have been flagrantly pernicious and unwise; or the conjecture, or the dream, must have been extravagantly fanciful to induce the supposition that positive injury has been inflicted on the subject multitude by British supremacy. The good which might have been done, and the wise measures which might have been pursued, belong to the Utopia of probability, and may be magnified or coloured according to the fervour of the imagination, or the political predilections of the writer. But would it have been worse had India never become a British province? Governors and civil servants may not have been free from odium and guilt in many important

transactions, which are now the record of history: yet, taking the good and the ill together, we think India has profited rather than lost by her subjection to British influence and connexion. It may be problematical whether she had any thing peculiarly valuable, which could be put in peril, in her social or political condition, by a transference of the governing power. Facilities or resources for enlightened or moral culture, in schools, colleges, printing establishments; or in literature, periodical or popular; cannot be traced prior to her conquest by Great Britain. The protection of private property is now, generally, effected by a British administration, though cases of personal hardship occur; bodily suffering and barbarian punishments are restricted; and means for an equitable administration of justice in the British provinces have been provided by British interposition: superior courts of appeal have been established, and the possibility of a remedy is held out; native chiefs and tributary princes have been compelled to submit to law, and observe something like equity in their proceedings. A vigilant police for the repression of crime and trial by jury have been either established or restored. The most perfect toleration of religious differences exists in British India, and protection is secured to the subject in the observance of the rites of his chosen religion. Peace reigns in those vast countries formerly distracted and torn by the contentions of a hundred despots; industry is protected from robbery and

private wrong; while the enterprising and successful may amass capital without alarm, and enjoy it in security. Clearer views and more correct opinions on mercantile policy are beginning to be diffused and acted on; while colonization by European citizens, and the increased liberty of the native and country-born population, the freedom of the press, and free and rapid intercourse with Britain, will open channels of instruction, and give an impetus to knowledge and inquiry, unprecedented in all the past history of India.

One change yet remains to be effected. A settlement of the land-tax must be made; so that it shall not continue variable as the barometer, and uncertain as the clouds of heaven. In the Bombay and Madras presidencies, the state or government is virtually a rack-renting landlord. This is called the Ryotwarre system; which has been compared to the screw in a cider press, while the district, subject to it, is likened to an apple squeezed by this screw; the collectors severally applying the extent of their power, and then transferring the handle to their successors. It is an assessment on the land made annually according to an actual survey of every acre of the ground, and its measure of productiveness. The whole extent of the province is divided into three classes: the *dry field*, the irrigated *field*, and the irrigated *garden land*: these are again distinguished by a subordinate classification of twenty varieties in each division, taxing the land at rates varying from sixpence to

seventy shillings per acre. In the second, the irrigated field, the capital of the peasant or his ancestor, laid out in tanks or trenches, is subject to taxation; and in the garden ground, a system of excise is applied to the pot-herbs, garden-stuffs and fruits of the Hindoo.

"From the ploughing of the land to the reaping of the crop, a constant system of *surveillance* is pursued by the revenue officers. When the peasant's crop fails, or is defective, remissions of tax are made; when it is unusually abundant, an increase is made to his assessment. When the crop of one inhabitant of a village fails, his neighbours are required to make good the deficiency; and when the crops of a whole village fail, or are defective, the neighbouring ones are required to make up the difference to the state. The estimated proportion of the gross produce of the soil, taken as tax by the government under this system is, according to its advocates, forty-five parts in a hundred, being more than *double* what is supposed to be the usual proportion constituting the average rent of the landlord in England. As to the cultivator, who is admitted to be at once labourer, farmer, and proprietor, his average share of the gross produce is stated to be generally from five to six in a hundred, or in other words, he receives as *rent* very little more than *one half* of what the clergy of England receive as *tithe*."

The revenue of the land thus levied is collected through the agency of 100,000 revenue officers,

who can remit or exact the whole at their pleasure. Every man is tempted to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, so as to save himself, eventually, from any increased demand. The collector is, within his district, the sole magistrate, or justice of the peace, through the medium of whom alone any complaint of personal grievance, suffered by the subject, can reach the superior courts: every officer, subordinate to his authority, employed in the collection of the land revenue, is a police-officer, vested with power to fine, put in the stocks, confine, or flog any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case. The industry of the well-doing peasant is taxed to make up the deficiency of the sluggard, or the unfortunate. The yearly vacillation prevents the application of capital, enterprise, and industry. Under a permanent settlement applied to Bengal, population and revenue have increased more than one half, in thirty-two years. In Madras and Bombay, natural increase has been prevented; the revenue, with all the pressure of the screw, is stationary; and the population subject to diminution. I should, therefore, hail the change which is spoken of, and wish the principle were carried farther: for the annual, triennial, and quinquennial leases before granted, it is now proposed to substitute one of thirty—I would say, substitute one of ninety-nine years.



AURUNGZEBE TIMOUR NADIR

ENGLISH ADVENTURE AND ORIENTAL CONQUESTS.

THE student who wishes to explore thoroughly the whole character of our Hindoo dominions; the merchant who desires to invest capital and embark in eastern enterprise; or the colonist who seeks for a new and most promising field for his industry and perseverance; will find Montgomery Martin's "British Colonies" a source of invaluable information, and deserving to be consulted as a *vade mecum*. The politician, who inquires not for the name or evanescent triumphs of the conqueror; he

who longs not for the strife of nations or the commotions of civil war, but who exerts himself to promote the interests of universal peace, of national prosperity, and of remunerative industry, will trace here a field for philosophical legislation, for benevolent and wise government; which will furnish matter for deliberate and lengthened discussion. These excellences, however, may render it less attractive for the more discursive reader; for whom passages of spirited description and impassioned narrative, scenes and sketches beautifully picturesque, sublime, and impressive, would be esteemed more seasonable and pleasing. He shows that the oriental dominions which are held by our insular kingdom, offer to the agriculturist measureless fields for pasture and tillage; to the manufacturer, an incalculable extension of the home market for the disposal of his wares; to the merchant and mariner, vast marts for profitable traffic in every product with which nature has bounteously enriched the earth; to the capitalist, an almost interminable site for the profitable investment of his funds; and to the industrious, skilful, and intelligent emigrant, an area of many thousand square miles, where every species of mental ingenuity and manual labour may be developed and nurtured into action with advantage to the whole family of man. The ulterior events which may befal this extended empire through the counsels and operations of British citizens are concealed from our anticipations; this much, however, is evident, that the intrinsic worth of these colonies

is neither appreciated nor understood by the mass of the people. We shall now trace, as briefly as our limits require, the conquest of these wide domains, and the progress of British acquisition.

It is questionable whether greater misery has been inflicted on Asiatic provinces by the misrule and imbecility of native despots, tyrants who usurped a short-lived dominion, or the royal descendants of reigning princes, who, by virtue of hereditary right, have pillaged and devoured the miserable and defenceless multitude; or whether invasion and conquest, with their attendant plundering, conflagration, and massacres, have been a greater source of wretchedness and woe. The successful adventurers Cuttub and Altumsh, Balin and Alla, Tuglick and Nizam-ul-Dien, were succeeded by their children, or their kindred, as transitory dynasties,—the Ferozes and Byrams, the Kei Kobads, Mubaricks, and Jonahs, the Mahomeds and Mahmoods,—who ravaged the country as locusts and caterpillars, and proved even as hostile to the permanent interests of their people as the Genghis Khans, the Timurs, Babers, Akbers, and Shah Jehans. Yet indeed it is only a choice of evils, and desolating was the mildest scourge. The record is but too well authenticated, which details rebellion, massacres, and barbarous conquests, as the history of India from the remotest annals. In it we read of thousands, twenty, seventy, a hundred thousand, yea, hundreds of thousands of persons being slaughtered in one day, without the slightest

compunctions; of unbounded perfidy and treason, of never-ending assassination for personal revenge, or of public confiscation; the noses and ears of thousands cut off at one time, the compulsory circumcision or mutilation of thousands at another; judicial decisions openly sold; the work of war and blood made perpetual; living beings hewed or torn to pieces; hillocks of bodies and pyramids of human heads piled up for public show; the inhabitants of whole provinces hunted like wild beasts for royal amusement; the march of a monarch tracked by gore, desolation, famine, and pestilence; women devouring their own children in excess of agony; and myriads upon myriads, even during the eighteenth century, wantonly slaughtered in cold blood. The earliest and most inveterate foes whom the British traders first encountered on the shores of India were not the natives, but those for whom the native tribes had long been for a prey, and among whom their lands had been divided as the parcels of conquering freebooters. The Moslem invaders of India invested and captured the Company's factory of Fort William. By their armed thousands, millions, of the most timid and passive nations, were kept in abject submission; their oppression was maintained by murder, torture, and robbery, to an extent never witnessed in the western world, which, having been protracted through centuries, would, under a less genial clime, or with a less enduring people, have terminated in the total extinction of the Hindoo race. The cessation of

the Mohammedan power in Hindostan can never be regretted by the benevolent mind, to whom are familiar the records of that beautiful but ill-fated land. The historic scroll of this people had for ages been stained with human gore, either from internal insurrections, or the irruptions of the fresh locust-hordes, who sought to share in the spoils of their more wealthy, but not more fortunate brethren.

The character of these events will appear more distinctly in the reputation sustained by a few of the oriental chieftains. Timur plundered and massacred without distinction of religion or sex; his track was marked by blood, desolation, famine, and pestilence: so justly has he been denominated the *fire-brand of the universe*, and the greatest wholesale butcher of our species ever heard of by mankind. The Mogul Aurungzebe, and the Mahratta Sevagee, were as ruthless destroyers of the Hindoo race—extensive and sanguinary marauders wherever obstacles were presented to their mad and plundering ambition. Nadir Shah, a shepherd's son, and the usurper of the Persian throne, encountered the Hindostanee army four days' march from Delhi. The valour of his hardy and experienced bands prevailed, the timid and mismanaged crowds of Mahomed's army were soon confused, and their leaders slain or made captive. Nadir and Mahomed met in the camp of Nadir, and the Shah consented to evacuate Hindostan upon receipt of two crores of rupees, or two million pounds sterling. An ambitious satrap defeated Mahomed's

efforts by offering a larger tribute for his own elevation to the higher office. Nadir recalled Mahomed and his omrah, Nizam-al-Mulk, to the Persian camp; and the conqueror marched to Delhi, whose gates were thrown open to receive him. After two days a report of his death was spread, and the infatuated inhabitants began to massacre his Persian guards: these men, who had maintained the strictest discipline and order, were now let loose upon their prey. With the first light of the morning Nadir Shah issued forth; his soldier-bands being dispersed in every direction, were ordered to slaughter the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian should be found. From sun-rise to mid-day the sabre raged, and thousands of Moguls, Hindoos, or Afghauns, were numbered with the dead. In the midst of massacre and pillage, the city was set on fire in several places. Saadut Khan, the origin of this deadly destruction, was now required to pay the two millions for his elevation; but before Nadir's messenger reached Oude, the place of his government, Saadut had died of a cancer in his back. On the same day were the imperial treasures seized:—three crores and fifty lacks (35,000,000 rupees) in specie; a crore and fifty lacks in plate; fifteen crores in jewels; the celebrated peacock throne, valued at a crore; other valuables to the amount of eleven crores; in all 32,000,000*l.* sterling; besides elephants, horses, and camp equipages of the emperor. The bankers and

other rich inhabitants were ordered to give up their wealth, and tortured to discover their concealed treasure. A heavy contribution was demanded of the city, and exacted with cruel severity; many laid violent hands upon themselves to escape the horrid treatment, to which they beheld others exposed. Famine pervaded the city, and pestilential diseases ensued. Seldom has a more dreadful calamity fallen on any portion of the human race than that in which the visit of Nadir Shah involved the capital of Hindostan. Having divided the provinces to suit his ambition or caprice, Nadir restored Mahomed to the exercise of his degraded sovereignty; and, bestowing upon him and his courtiers some good advice, began, on the 14th of April, 1739, his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession for thirty-seven days. Delhi was captured by Abdallah in 1761, and surrendered to the horrors of a general massacre during seven days, under the lust and cruelty of a rapacious and infuriated soldiery. This remorseless slaughter did not suffice to glut the ferocity of his guards; nor did they abandon their prey till the stench of dead bodies drove them out of the city. The habitations of the people were reduced to ashes, and thousands who had escaped the sword suffered a lingering death by famine, and expired among the smoking ruins of their consuming tenements. The city extended *thirty-four* miles in length, and had contained *two* millions of inhabitants; but it was now a heap of desolations, a monument of human fury. The most appalling

descriptions of suffering have been given by witnesses of scenes in these wars. Women as well as men were whipped naked through the streets, in the midst of wanton tortures; citizens fled from their dearest friends as from beasts of prey, fearing to be devoured amidst the general starvation; mothers consumed their own offspring, and sucking infants clung to the unyielding breasts of their deceased parents; fire and sword contended for pre-eminence in the work of havoc and destruction; the streets of cities and towns were rendered impassable by heaps of slain; the country in many places exhibited few signs of being inhabited, save in the bones of murdered bodies and the smouldering ruins of villages and temples; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the very being, as well as the claims of a supreme God were utterly contemned; the bonds of private friendship, as well as of society, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm, or the deep villany of his own nature. Tippoo Sahib's dominion was raised on the ruins of provinces, and his power cemented by the blood of defenceless myriads; he compelled the Brahmins in thousands to submit to his Mohammedan rites, while Hindoo Christians in multitudes were driven into exile from their birth-place, the home of their fathers, and as circumcised proselytes, were constrained to seem to worship at the shrine of the false prophet.

The British conquest of Hindostan has changed the aspect and character of the country; a stop has been put to such scenes of monstrous and harrowing desolation; the rapacity of Moslem conquerors, and the ruin of the homes and the dispersion of the families of Hindoo sufferers, do not now occur, so as that the recital may cause the soul of the reader to bleed. Tranquillity, civilization, and the benefits of christian precept and evangelical missions, have now been introduced into the country; and, from these, incalculable blessings may flow, which will gladden and cheer hundreds of millions of human beings, scattered throughout the vast territories of the Eastern hemisphere. Already, notwithstanding many drawbacks, the acquisition of the Indian provinces by the British people has contributed to the happiness of many Hindoos, and conferred general benefits upon the whole people—benefits which might be matured to the richest blessings, were our rulers wise; for *general peace*, the indispensable prelude to civilization, now reigns, which had not within record or tradition been heretofore known to continue for the shortest period among the unhappy inhabitants, since such had been the condition of the smaller states, that the ploughman carried arms at his rustic occupation, and the shepherd, while peacefully tending his herds, was always required to be prepared for the battle-field.

Though the merchants of Great Britain, soon after the discovery of the passage by the Cape of

Good Hope to India (in the year 1497), made repeated efforts to share with the Portuguese in the Eastern trade, more than a century elapsed before they had any degree of success. Individual effort was not deemed sufficient where such risk was incurred, and the protection of force was required. Queen Elizabeth, upon the application of some Englishmen, sent an embassy to the emperor of Delhi, soliciting his favour and protection to her subjects engaged in trade, and granted a charter to the merchants who had petitioned her, erecting them into a body corporate, under the title of the "Governors and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Many vicissitudes of varied fortune in domestic and foreign enterprise have marked the career of this company of merchant princes from its commencement on the 31st December, 1600. Modifications or renewals were obtained in 1609 from James I.; in 1636 from Charles I.; in 1657 from Cromwell; in 1661 and 1667 from Charles II.; in 1683 and 1686 from James II.; in 1698 and 1702 from William and Mary; in 1708 from Queen Anne; and throughout the reigns of the Georges, whenever the period of the charter required; and the East India Company has continued to acquire increased power, to extend the British dominion, and add to the number of the subjects of the English crown, till now the possessions of British India contain a population of 100,000,000 souls, with a territory of upwards of a million of square miles of the richest portion of the

earth; and the ascendency of British influence is felt in every kingdom of the East, and over every Asiatic throne—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the borders of China to the wilds of Curdistan. The East India Company began to assume political power and consequence as a government about the period of the downfal of the imperial house of Timur, when the aspirant princes of the East were contending for the fragments of the broken and crumbling empire, every province of which was distracted by their petty, but harassing wars, or groaning under their temporary oppression.

The people have ever been the dust under the rolling wheels of the war-chariot; their wrongs have been overlooked, and their groanings have not been heard, or their woes have been unregarded. But the princes and chiefs have appeared the greatest, and, in the eyes of some, the only sufferers by the rise of the East India Company. They each joined, or lent themselves to the European strangers, to subdue or humble their rivals, and observed not, till it was too late to retrieve, their error in allowing the Company to attain a strength which they could not shake; by dear-bought experience they discovered that efforts to accomplish its destruction only tended to confirm and enlarge its power. By some mysterious combination and overruling direction, which neither party ascribed to its proper SOURCE, they might perceive that not only did this foreign power improve by success, but it grew still greater after every

misfortune. A greater mystery rested upon this circumstance, and a deeper impression was produced by it, since the agency and secondary instruments by which it was effected were drawn from a distant land; the fountain of which was unseen, and therefore conceived by the alarmed potentates to be inexhaustible. "I am not alarmed at what I see of the force and resources of the Company, but at what is unseen," was the emphatic speech of Hider Ally Khan, one of the most able, potent, and inveterate enemies of British rule in India. And in these expressions he faithfully represented the feelings and apprehensions of other native princes, when they contemplated the operations of these anomalous and rapidly encroaching usurpers, whose unfailing energies seemed drawn at pleasure from a distant and unknown country; whose power they could only estimate by its effects; and whose magnitude they could only judge of by its stupendous and unparalleled conquests. The enterprise and ambition of European agents on the one part, and the weakness and perfidy of Asiatic princes on the other, to whom they became, from their encroachments or their riches, an object of jealousy or plunder, no doubt contributed as secondary means to the Company's progress and triumph; but there was an invisible and all-wise *providence* overruling the course of events, by which it rose to the possession of royal power and prerogative, and was actually called upon to preside in the character of sovereigns over extended king-

doms before the rulers had ceased to be the mercantile directors of petty factories and commercial adventures. Whether the conquests were achieved by virtue and a sound policy, or not,—whether the means by which India was rendered subject to England were of all others the best calculated to effect that great object, as the simple operation of natural and obvious causes,—it is not necessary for us to decide; but we have no question, that while their heart thought not so, and neither did they desire it, the Supreme Ruler among kingdoms was carrying forward *his* measures of universal government, and accomplishing his purposes of goodness and mercy. It seemed as if the great changes were to be effected in opposition to the purposes of the principal authorities. They denounced, at every step, the progress which their agents made to the territorial power in India; and when their advice was insufficient to resist, they in vain employed the mandates of law or the commands of the sovereign authority: it was proved that, though they might regulate, they could not withstand their own career to greatness under the influence of causes that were irresistible, and therefore not possible to be controlled.

Force and power might indeed have failed successfully to approach the shores of India, but to the unpretending merchant every encouragement was offered. His wisdom and spirit in the conduct and defence of his own enterprises excited the admiration of surrounding powers, who, in process of time, courted his alliance and solicited his aid.

When he had granted this aid, and repelled the aggressions of his allied rivals, he obtained as a reward additional immunities and privileges, and was brought into political connexions. From the day on which the Company's servants marched a mile beyond their factories, in miiltary array, the extension of territories, and the maintenance of armies, followed as a principle of self-preservation; the substance, if not the form of their government, was altered; they became involved in all the complicated relations of a political state, and were induced to adopt measures for improving their strength and consolidating their colonial empire. How unparalleled has been their success!

Shah Jehan was proclaimed emperor of the Moguls in the beginning of the year 1628. To remove all danger of competition, reserving only himself and his own children, the whole posterity of the house of Timur were dispatched by the dagger or the bow-string. The daughters of this monarch were important actors in the scenes of his eventful reign. It has not been often that princesses were so distinguished in oriental politics; but these were three women of talents and accomplishments, as well as beauty. The eldest, Jehanara, her father's favourite, with a prevalent influence over his mind, was lively, generous, and open, and attached to her brother Dara, who cherished a corresponding disposition. The second, Roshenrai Begum, from conformity of character, acute, artful, and intriguing, was the confidante and ally of Aurungzebe. Suria Banu, the youngest, was

spared from the anxiety and turbulence of political intrigue and contention by her gentleness and unobtrusive disposition; yet it is probable her character, and the events of her life, had not less influence, than those of her sisters, on the future destiny of her father's dynasty and his numerous subjects. If our conjecture be correct, this daughter of Shah Jehan was afflicted by a dangerous illness, which Mohammedan and Hindoo skill could not subdue. An English physician, named Boughton, had proceeded from Surat to Agra; his professional attainments were successfully employed for her relief; and, among other rewards for her cure, he received the privilege of carrying on a free trade in the Mogul dominions. Under the *phirman* of the emperor he went to Bengal. His medical abilities obtained for him there equal favour with the nabob of the country; who extended his *personal* privilege, which had been granted by Shah Jehan, to all the traders of his nation. In 1636, therefore, a factory was built on the banks of the Hooghly, by the Company's servants from Surat. The position of this settlement was on the right bank, lat. 22° 54′ north, long. 88° 28′ east, and contiguous to the factories which the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Danes, had erected within ten miles of each other. Eighty years later in the history of the Company the greatest advantages were derived in their negotiations with the Mogul court, then residing at Delhi, from a similar cause. An embassy, and costly presents, were doomed to

imperial neglect till the fame of British science, and the success of their medical practice, gave hopes of prevailing, or rather unexpectedly crowned them with triumph. Intemperance and evil passions had polluted the luxury of an eastern harem, and the prince Ferokshere lingered under the unskilful treatment of Indian physicians, till his illness became dangerous, and impatience began to fret the emperor's mind, while restrained from gross indulgences. He was advised to make trial of the English Doctor Hamilton's skill: a cure speedily followed. The despot commanded his benefactor to name his own reward. It is said the generous Hamilton nobly cast aside his private advantages, exerted his influence to obtain privileges for the Company, and solicited a grant of the objects of the mission, whose petition the Great Mogul gratefully conceded in form. A favourite eunuch of the harem was afterwards employed, who, by stratagem and bribery, obtained the *patents* for the impatient ambassadors. These cases will illustrate the capricious and incidental causes which have frequently given origin to empires, and produced the most material changes in the relations of mankind. They exhibit also the advantages conferred by science, and the judicious exercise of the medical art as cultivated by British physicians. Conquests or extended territories, gained by such means, involve no crime; shed no blood, and bring no dishonour.

Piply, the first sea-port possessed by the British

in Orissa, is now scarcely to be discovered, being almost washed away by the encroachment of the waves. In 1681 Cossimbuzar, Patna, Hooghly, and Piply, mere commercial stations, were formed into a distinct government, separate from the control of the factory at Madras. In 1686, the English chief at Hooghly came to a rupture with the Moslem commander, occasioned by the continued, vexatious, and uncontrolled exactions of the Mohammedan officers from Delhi; a battle was fought between their respective forces; and the nabob's were defeated with loss, his battery destroyed, and eleven guns spiked. The factors, however, feeling their position indefensible, and apprehensive of summary vengeance from their Mogul adversaries, quitted Hooghly, and fixed their residence, in the beginning of 1687, on the left bank of the Hooghly at Chuttanutty (now called Calcutta), a village 100 miles from the sea. The Company carried on their trade here till 1696; when, in consequence of a rebellion by the provincial ruler against the Mogul ascendency, they applied for and received, along with the Dutch and French, permission to erect defences around Chuttanutty, Chinsurah, and Chandernagore. These were the first fortifications around European residences permitted by the Mohammedans in Bengal. Azim Ushaun, grandson of Aurungzebe, disputed the succession to the Mogul throne in 1700; and as viceroy of Bengal he accepted from the Company a large sum of money for the lands

of Chuttanutty and Govindpoor; and in 1704, the Company's whole stock was removed to the fort which they had erected, and named Fort William (in compliment to the prince of Orange.) The garrison consisted of 129 soldiers, 66 of whom were Europeans; and of a gunner with his artillery men, amounting to 25. Three years afterward, Fort William was denominated a presidency, and thus became the foundation of a wide-spread empire. A peaceful, if not a profitable, commerce was conducted here for fifty years; but in 1756, the Mohammedan, Suraja ud Dowlah, subahdar of Bengal, besieged and captured the fort; and having left to be crowded into a dungeon, eighteen feet square, 146 prisoners, resigned himself to the indulgences of the seraglio. In less than twenty-four hours, the miserable captives were reduced in number to twenty-four, by madness, thirst, and suffocation. This was the British remnant of the Bengal presidency. The story of the *Black Hole* deserves more extended detail.

Suraja Dowlah was educated an oriental prince; indulgence had trained him to a more than usual share of princely vices; he was ignorant and voluptuous; he reckoned much on his own pains and pleasures; the pains or pleasures of other men were as dust in the balance; he was irascible, impatient and headstrong; he was greedy of riches, and proud of his power, he was ambitious of triumph. Calcutta was imperfectly fortified, and its numerous inhabitants were dwelling in delusive

security. The outposts could not be defended, and resistance was found impracticable and futile. The factors, therefore, resolved to embark their females and effects in ships which lay in the river; but when the hour of embarkation came, the men who should have defended or remained to direct affairs, seemed most anxious for their own safety, and the ships, which might, without hazard, have afforded shelter and retreat for all, moved down the river in cowardly apprehension. Mr. Holwell exerted himself with great vigour to preserve order and maintain the defence. The secretary to the governor and council assures us, "that signals were thrown out from every part of the fort for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel as well as shameful it was to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy; and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own: but we deceived ourselves; and there never was a single effort made in the two days the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison." The historian Orme remarks, "Never, perhaps, was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away all

who suffered in the dungeon." Several letters were thrown over the wall during these trying days, to signify Mr. Holwell's desire to capitulate; during a momentary suspension of the garrison's fire in expectation of an answer to some of these proposals, the enemy approached the walls in resistless numbers, and carried the place by storm. A temporary gleam of humanity appeared in the aspect of the SUBAHDAR, who, so far from seeming to intend cruelty, when Mr. Holwell was brought with his hands tied into his presence, ordered them to be loosened, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that not a hair of his or his companions' heads should be touched. He gave no direction to the guards, however, how the captives were to be secured; but left them to search for such apartment as they might judge convenient. Either there was no other, or they would not, or dared not, choose any better place than a cell which the English themselves had used as a *Black Hole* for some solitary and refractory prisoner. Into this miserable receptacle, the whole 146 prisoners were literally crushed. It was a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon; a single, grated, and narrow aperture was the only passage for ventilation for air from without, or pollution from within. In vain did they crowd one upon another, or attempt to open the door of their prison-house; in vain did they solicit a supply of water from their tormentors, who guarded the cell; in vain did they suck their own moistened linen, or extract the

drops of perspiration to quench their thirst. Pity had no tears for them, prayer had no voice, and power triumphed in their misery. The insults of their taunting adversaries could hardly reach the depth of their utter wretchedness; they sought death rather than life, and implored a speedy destruction rather than the hour of deliverance; they provoked the destroyer that he might extinguish their wretched existence, rather than they should linger longer in the gall of bitterness. "Some of our company," says Mr. Cook, "expired very soon after being put in; others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." Applications made to the guards, with the assurance of the richest rewards, failed to secure relief. The reply only intimated, that the despot was asleep, and none dared disturb his hours of repose. It was a fearful and dreary season; and one hundred and twenty-three or four perished in unspeakable misery—in inconceivable agony and suffering.

The disaster which we have recited roused the energies of the Company's servants at Madras, and Colonel Clive by promptitude and counsel inspired his colleagues with determination to avenge the sanguinary brutality of Suraja Dowlah, and to re-establish the Company's factory at Calcutta. Clive was nominated to command the force destined for the hazardous undertaking. The perilous and rash, if not even hopeless, enterprise, was commenced with an armament consisting of 900

Europeans, and 1,500 sepoy troops, and a naval squadron containing five vessels of war: the *Kent* of 64 guns, the *Cumberland* of 70, the *Tiger* of 60, the *Salisbury* of 50, and the *Bridgewater* of 20, under the command of Watson and Pocock. Sailing from Madras on October 16th, they anchored in the Hooghly, within twenty miles of Calcutta, on the 15th of November, 1756. Mayapore was taken 28th December, and Budge Budge soon followed. Here Moneek Chund attempted to make a stand and repel the British force by 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse. An oversight of the enemy rescued the little army from imminent destruction —their *cavalry did not advance and charge.* Clive's forces had been marched by him to lie in ambush: but fatigued in gaining their position, they were allowed to quit their arms to take repose; and from a guilty, and almost fatal security, which no real or fancied superiority could excuse, the common precaution of stationing sentinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all asleep, and in this situation were surprised by a large body of the enemy. Clive's presence of mind and steady courage, which sudden emergencies always called forth, enabled him to disperse the irregular force led against him by a cowardly commander; after a short contest they were utterly routed, and fled to Calcutta, ten miles to the north north-east. On the 29th of December, the fort was evacuated by the Moslem soldiers during the night. They had been alarmed by Strachan, a drunken sailor, who fired

and summoned them to surrender; and they concluded he was followed by the whole British army. The vigour of the British movements so terrified the governor of Calcutta, that on the approach of Colonel Clive he fled from his post, leaving 500 of the nabob's troops for its protection. They waited only a few broadsides from the English men-of-war, and then withdrew, when the site of the Calcutta factory once more passed into the hands of its British proprietors. After a slight resistance, Hooghly was next taken possession of by the impatient troops. The rapidity of their career was checked only for a moment by the arrival of the nabob, Suraja Dowlah, before Calcutta, with a large army and artillery. He rejected either armistice or negotiation; but was so promptly attacked by Clive, that his boasting was short. 650 troops of the line, 100 artillerymen, 800 sepoys, 600 seamen, and 6 field-pieces, constituted the whole English force. The contest was severe, but the dogged valour of the British struck terror into their enemy. Clive returned in triumph to Calcutta; having concluded peace with Suraja, and established the authority of the Company to resume their possessions in tranquillity, to fortify Calcutta as they pleased, and to carry on trade as before.

Seer Mutakhareen, a Hindostanee historian, has left on record the opinions and representations current among the Hindoos, which respected the warlike operations of their European invaders.

Of one period he reports—"Just at this crisis the flames of war broke out between the French and English: two nations who had disputes between themselves of five or six hundred years standing; and who, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever." The opinion of the oriental writer is not far from the seeming truth regarding Gallic and British hostilities, which have been cherished as hereditary interests for many centuries. Not content with their European stage for mutual carnage, they have embroiled eastern nations in the same sanguinary strife, and waged on the fields of India as deadly combat as ever steeped the soil of Poictiers or Blenheim, of Tholouse or Waterloo. Thus mutual rivalry between the two nations, and a jealous vigilance, one over the accessions of the other, are spoken of by political writers or national historians, as if they were first principles in the law of nations, or accredited maxims in the science of government. An "imperative necessity of making head against the French," is assigned as an excuse for a system of interference and usurpation, by which the servants of the Company enthroned or cast down the puppets of their choice, or the victims of their domination. The *musnud* of the Soubah, a governor of a province, and the throne of the Mogul emperor, were destined by their

pleasure as arbitrarily as were the cornetcy of a troop, and the majority of a battalion.

With a design entirely to exclude the French from Bengal—it was a part of their treaty—Colonel Clive undertook to depose Suraja from the vice-royalty of that province, and to elevate Meer Jaffier as the nabob. Jaffier promised to secure the territory around Calcutta to the English; an indemnity of ten millions of rupees to the Company; to the British inhabitants of Calcutta five millions; to the natives and Armenians living under the protection of the Company, two millions seven hundred thousand; to the army and to the navy, each two millions five hundred thousand; for the injuries inflicted by Suraja. Jaffier was a military aspirant, and had no claims to the *musnud;* yet, as their mere instrument, admirals and rulers subscribed their names, and gave their cooperation to fulfil his wishes, to enable him to effect the measures of their ambition, and to crush the power of their natural enemies, the French! Chandernagore was, therefore, as part of this conspiracy, attacked by the British troops: the siege was begun on the 14th of March, 1757, the outposts driven in, and the fort invested. Battle ships and land forces united, and the French were unable to withstand the combined attack; but on the 22d the fort surrendered, and part of the garrison, escaping, joined Suraja. Cossimbuzar, Pattee, and Cutwah, were subsequently attacked and reduced. The celebrated battle of Plassey followed; when Clive and his

miniature army, standing on the defensive, covered by a high bank and a grove, and having thrown confusion and slaughter into the dense ranks of his adversary by his destructive artillery, while the concerted betrayal and desertion by Meer Jaffier and his battalions added to the consternation of Suraja, became the assailants, and destroyed the Moslem forces: the nabob fled on his swiftest elephant, escorted by his chosen cavalry, and Meer Jaffier was saluted, by the Company's general, Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Clive, who had remained master of the battle-field and its tents, artillery, camp equipage, provision, &c., sustained no greater loss, than in killed, eight Europeans and sixteen sepoys, and in wounded twelve Europeans and thirty-six sepoys. In his flight the disguised Suraja fell into the hands of a poor peasant, whom in his tyranny he had formerly caused to be deprived of his ears; the soldiers following in his pursuit, made the deposed nabob prisoner. English honour was to him no protection, who soon fell a victim to the dagger of the son of Meer Jaffier. Thus perished the author of the tragic scenes in the Calcutta *Black Hole;* and hence may be dated the commencement of the British empire in Bengal, when the power of investing the soubahs or nabobs with authority was assumed by the Company's government. The Dutch became jealous of the English, were worsted, and destroyed by Colonel Forde. The sons of the Mogul emperor were found incompetent to cope with the

British and their allies. Meer Jaffier proving indolent and tyrannical, or, in other words, not sufficiently subserving British interests, was deposed; his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, his momentary substitute, was also found unsuited; and one deposition followed another, intrigues and contests took place, till 1765, when Clive, now made a lord, was appointed with greater powers from England to make new arrangements with the native princes whom he had previously subdued, and with whom his *name* was presumed to possess a talismanic power.

It is not uninteresting to mark the seemingly capricious turn of events: the power of sovereigns in the richest kingdoms of the East, was now assumed by the men who ten years before had been refugees in a mud fort at Calcutta; their sway was extended over 150,000 square miles, containing a population of thirty millions of souls, active, ingenious, and peaceful, and producing a yearly revenue of 3,125,000*l.* Negotiations were instantly commenced, and speedily terminated, by which the Mogul emperor resigned all sovereign claims over Bengal, and a part of Bahar and Orissa, and became an annual stipendiary of the Company, with a pension of 325,000*l.* and certain fertile districts *secured*, which should produce yearly 250,000*l.*, besides the quiet occupation of the Delhi throne. The nabob of Oude was bound to pay a subsidy to the English, and to accept of their military protection. The soubahdar of the Bengal provinces, the natural son of their first puppet, was *allowed* to

assume his father's title, with a pension of 662,000*l.* Ten years later the province of Benares was added to the Company's territory, as a reward for their *protection* of the vizier of Oude from the Rohilla chiefs. This acquisition contained more than 12,000 square miles of the best land in India. The Mahratta force next attracted their attention: an army of 200,000 cavalry, 10 brigades of infantry, and 500 guns, disciplined and commanded by the ablest French and German officers, and headed by the wily chieftain Sindia. The influence of this prince at the Mogul court had induced Shah Allum to interrupt his amity with the English, and entrust the protection or defence of his strongest places to French officers and Mahratta troops. The quartering of a Mahratta army in a province was felt to be more destructive than myriads of locusts, or years of drought and pestilence; while of their rulers it has been said, "their *musnuds* were their horse cloths, their sceptres, their swords; and their dominion, the wide line of their desolating marches."

Warren Hastings, in 1780, and the Marquess Wellesley, in 1798, were called to contend with the predatory hordes of this cunning, brave, and vindictive adversary. Their original country lay to the north and west by the Nerbudda and Guzerat, and along the mountainous defiles and fastnesses which border on the Concans and Canara. The policy pursued by the Marquess Wellesley was to acquire a general dominion over the Mahrattas and their neighbours, to protect the British pos-

sessions from a constant series of hostilities. In the north-west of India, therefore, he acquired by treaty the provinces of Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjehanpoor, Rohilcund, Furraukabad, Allahabad, Cawnpoor, Gorruckpoor, and Azimghur, embracing territory to the extent of 32,000 square miles, and a population of about 15,000,000 souls. At Coel, at Alighur, and at Delhi, the Mahratta and French allies were encountered and defeated by General (Lord) Lake, commanding the British army; a similar disaster overtook them at the fortress of Agra. It is represented as the result of the engagement at Delhi, that the aged Mogul emperor was *released* from bondage and abject destitution; and this representative of a long line of imperial rulers threw himself on the *humanity* of the British, who *established* him on the throne of his ancestral capital, with an *annual stipend* for himself and family of 1,200,000 rupees, and certain privileges. To read the mock heroic accounts of these transactions, indited by some authors, we should imagine the British conquerors the most generous and benevolent of human beings, raised up as the deliverers of prostrate kings, as the beneficent patrons of oppressed emperors, and the protectors of all the injured princes of oriental climes! How profuse to their stipendiaries—how liberal to their pensioners! Can it be wondered that Lord Lake should enter Delhi amidst the general rejoicings of its wretched inhabitants? The substantial spoil of his campaigns embraced, as

provinces ceded to Britain, the Upper Doab, Delhi, Agra, Hurriana, Saharunpoor, Meerut, Alighur, Etawa, Cuttack, Balasore, Juggernaut, &c., containing a territory of nearly 40,000 square miles.

Sindia was succeeded by Holkar, whose standing army during *peace* was 150,000 cavalry, 40,000 well disciplined foot, 200 pieces of artillery, besides numerous corps of auxiliaries. With him, or his generals, Lake, Frazer, Monson, Ochterlony, and Burns, had repeated engagements at Delhi, Deeg, Bhurtpoor, &c. The sabre and the bayonet-point were the British soldiers' most trusty weapons in the field, by which, in one charge, they boast of cutting to pieces three thousand of the Indian *horse!* Is this a gallant way of blinking the question of the immortal souls who managed these war-horses? Bhurtpoor was a fortress defended by mud walls, enclosing the town, nearly eight miles in circumference, flanked at short distances all round with bastions, defended with immense cannon, and surrounded by a wide and deep fosse. When attacked, the garrison was complete, confident in their impregnable ramparts, and amply provisioned. On the 3d of January, 1805, Lord Lake and his troops sat down before this fortress; trenches were soon opened, but as speedily, whenever a breach was made, the defenders filled it up, or fortified it with stockades. In addition to the most galling artillery and musketry, they showered on the besiegers logs of burning wood and hot ashes, lighted bales of cotton steeped in oil, earthen

pots filled with fire and combustibles in a state of ignition. Four times the British troops attempted to storm the breach, and were each time obliged to retire, staggering under the most fearful destruction. Three thousand one hundred men, the flower of the army, fell in these assaults. Two regiments, the 75th and 76th king's troops, became panic-struck at the fury of their enemies, and refused to follow their officers. In their previous history they have been compared to NEY, "the bravest of the brave," and like *Murat*, were always foremost in the heady current of the battle: such praise sounds not however like *christian* eulogy. Their courage was reanimated by witnessing the 12th regiment of Bengal sepoys persevere till they had planted their colours on the fort walls. Stung by reproach, they implored permission to wash the stains from their reputation, in a fourth attack! In this, notwithstanding their desperate intrepidity and indomitable resolution, they were not more successful than in the former assaults. The rajah of Bhurtpoor apprehended perseverance in his enemy, and dreaded the revenge of an infuriated soldiery; and, it may be, anticipating more favourable terms, he despatched his son to the British camp with the keys of the fortress. A treaty was concluded on the 17th of April; Holkar was required to quit the territories, and the rajah engaged to pay two million rupees toward defraying the expenses of the war: his son was given as hostage of his pacific intentions. Holkar was at length so reduced as to flee, almost unattended, for

his life. Such are the reverses of war, and such its miseries! The Ghoorkas, associated with the Nepaulese—the former occupants of almost inaccessible hill-forts, and the latter inhabitants of the beautiful valleys of Nepaul—combined against the British, but were soon subdued. The predatory Pindaries, a body of mounted robbers, secretly favoured by the lingering Mahratta confederates, made incursions on British territory, and provoked the Marquess of Hastings to send forth a powerful and well-appointed army; which annihilated the Pindaries, and broke up the Mahratta confederacy; added to British provinces districts on the Nerbudda, Sumbalpoor, Khandah in Bundelcund, Agmere, and part of Mairwarrah, part of Nimar, Bairsea, Shoojawulpore, and the fortress of Hatrass; and to the number of their tributary and dependent allies Jyepore, Joudpore, Oudeypore, Boondee, Kotah, Pertabghur, Rutlana, Banswarra, and Doongurpore. The changes produced in Burmah, Pegu, Arracan, Assam, and the lower provinces of the Eastern peninsula, by the more recent movements of war and diplomacy, are of the greatest consequence to the myriads who inhabit these regions, and add much to the responsibility of the British nation, as well as of their rulers in the Indian empire. They have a relation with eternity and the glorious triumphs of gospel truth over the basest forms of idolatry and priestcraft.

The first attempts of the English on the shores of India to establish a commercial intercourse were

characterised by many personal adventures, deeds of daring enterprise, and incidents of curious and eventful interest. The most sanguine expectations of the speculators were often frustrated and postponed by the opposition of the Arabians, the Dutch, or the Portuguese. The arrival of Francis Drake at Plymouth, on the 25th September, 1580, from a voyage of nearly three years' duration, after visiting the Spice Islands, having held friendly intercourse with the king of Ternate, and coasted along Java, was hailed with exultation by the British people; was distinguished by a visit on board the far-sailed vessel from the queen (Elizabeth), who conferred on the adventurer the honour of knighthood; and gave fresh impetus to navigation and commerce. Sir Richard Grenville sold his estate and embarked his capital in a similar voyage. The Ladrones, the Philippines, and Moluccas, surprised him by their extent and fertility; the natives of these isles and the princes of Java accepted his friendly communications, and intimated a decided preference for intercourse with the English rather than with the Spaniards, who had preceded them. He returned to England in September, 1588. Another party had set out as travellers in 1583, taking their route by the Mediterranean, Syria, Aleppo, and Bagdad, and along the Persian Gulf, by Ormuz, to the coast of Malabar. They were stimulated to this project by one Stevens, who having sailed in a Portuguese vessel to Goa, gave a most favourable report of the fertility of the region, and the facilities for com-

merce at that port. John Newbury and Ralph Fitch were the leaders in this adventure, and went forth furnished with letters addressed to the Mogul emperor and the king of China. They reached Ormuz, and had commenced business, but in the course of six days were arrested and imprisoned at the instigation of Michael Stropene, an Italian, jealous of their rivalry in trade. They were sent to Goa as prisoners, and placed there in confinement, because Sir Francis Drake their countryman had, in passing Malacca, fired two balls at a Portuguese galleon. Newbury denied any participation in the alleged crime, and complained of injustice and inequality, that while all the nations of Europe and Asia, French, Flemings, Germans, Moscovites, and Persians, were allowed freely to reside and traffic at Goa, Englishmen only should be thus barbarously treated. Ultimately they were permitted to reside in their own house under a bond that they would not quit Goa without permission. The friendship of Stevens, whose representations had induced them to undertake their hazardous enterprise, and who was now in favour with the archbishop of Goa, having been a student at New College, Oxford, was of great use to the adventurers. Yet after a few months they found no friendship strong enough for their protection from the encroachments, thefts, and threatenings of the Portuguese. The apprehension of being made slaves, or of even a worse fate, made them to determine to profit by their remaining liberty, and therefore

they escaped from the town on the 5th of April, 1585. They passed through Belgaum, then called Bellergam, which they describe as a great market for diamonds and other precious stones; they visited Beejapore, a royal city, where they witnessed all the pomp and circumstance of Hindoo idolatry. The idols being "some like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil." Golconda is described by them "a fair and pleasant city, the houses well built of brick and timber, and surrounded by a country abounding with delicious fruits and rich diamond mines." Masulipatam they heard of as a place of extensive traffic. Passing through the Deckan northward, they traversed "Candeish, a country surprisingly fertile and populous." The capital of Malwa appeared a strongly fortified town, built on a high rock. Agra, to which they thence proceeded, was a city populous and great, superior to London (then), well built of stone, and having fair and large streets. The court resided at Fatepore, a larger but not so handsome city. The whole distance between Agra and Fatipore (twenty-two miles) our travellers declare resembled a market, "as full as though a man were still in a town." William Leader, one of the company, remained in the service of Acbar as jeweller, for which he was allowed a house, a horse, a regular pension, and five slaves.

Fitch visited Allahabad, descended the Ganges to Benares, the chief seat of Hindoo superstition,

and an extensive mart for commerce. He witnessed the observances of idolatrous rites, the gorgeous style of their temples, "the black and evil-favoured idols—their mouths monstrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glass." He proceeded to Patna, and in the surrounding country, which was infested by robbers, wandering like Arabs from place to place, he saw the people greatly imposed upon by idle persons, assuming the garb of sanctity: of one of these pretenders, who sat asleep on horseback in the market-place, the traveller speaks thus—"They thought him a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber; I left him there asleep." Bengal and Bootan were explored; Orissa, Pegu, and Malacca were traversed; and the wanderer having returned to Bengal, shipped himself for Cochin, and in his way touched at Ceylon, "a brave island, very fruitful and fair." He doubled Cape Comorin, and, by Quilon, reached Cochin, where he remained eight months; he thence sailed to Goa, Chaul, and Ormuz, having performed a most perilous and successful journey through India. A Captain Lancaster, having sailed in company with two other adventurers, who failed in their expedition, reached Cape Comorin in May 1592, and appears to have pursued the gains of a freebooting pirate. He made a second voyage in 1601, which was conducted on similar principles of piracy and plunder. He was followed by Captain Middleton in 1604, and Sir E. Michelborne, who made their gains by robbery

and murder. But in 1607 Captains Keeling and Hawkins made a more orderly effort to establish a better regulated commerce. The latter separated from Keeling at Socotora, and arrived at Surat on the 24th of August, 1608. Through a series of adventures, stratagems, and counterplots, Hawkins, having landed at Surat such merchandise as he had to dispose of, and in vain attempted to counteract Portuguese hostility and Mohammedan chicanery, so pursued his course, as to reach the Mogul court, and be admitted to the durbar of the great Jehangire. Though met here, too, by jesuitical diplomacy and the national rivalry of the Portuguese, yet as he could speak Turkish, he was invited to visit the palace daily; when the emperor, well pleased, held long discourses with him, making inquiry respecting the different countries of Europe; and also the West Indies: of whose existence he had been taught to entertain doubts. After referring to the causes of complaint by the English, the emperor requested Hawkins to remain in India as attached to his court, promising him 3,000*l.* per annum, the revenues of a district which he should receive, and the command of four hundred horse. The stranger yielded to persuasion, and accepted also a wife, provided by the Mogul. Hawkins pleaded that his *conscience* would not allow him to marry any but a Christian. Jehangire produced a young Armenian maiden, with whom the captain consented to unite himself: and he declared that she made him extremely happy. The sun of royal favour con-

tinued for a season to shine upon his adventure; the emperor's commission for the English to trade at Surat, under the great seal and in golden letters, was obtained; and the minister of the Mogul was for a season thrown into disgrace, because he had opposed the English. But cursed is the man who waits on princes' favour:—the tide of royal kindness began to ebb. Native courtiers, jealous of his success, and Portuguese emissaries, employed to thwart his designs, succeeded in drawing forth the royal exclamation—"Let the English come no more!" Mocrib, the governor of Surat, departed with these instructions. Hawkins waited a more propitious season: by gifts and expostulations, when the monarch was accessible to his statements, he enjoyed a gleam of sunshine; promises as liberal as before were renewed, and a decree was ordered to be made out by the vizier. But a darker cloud returned and cast gloom again over his prospects. Vacillation with the sovereign, activity among his adversaries, of whom the prime minister was the chief, and some splendid toy or more costly gift by Hawkins, produced the chequered vicissitudes which marked his sojourn at the court of Jehangire; and on the 2d of November, 1611, he departed without even a letter to his own king, and refused the long-sought-for confirmation of commercial privileges to English traders. The British fleet had, however, sustained a successful encounter at Swally, at the point of Cambay, opposite to Surat, with an armament of the Portuguese, in 1611. Their courage

and prowess in this engagement favourably impressed the native authorities in Guzerat, who granted them permission to place factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, Goga, and Surat. A *phirman*, or decree of the emperor, received on the 11th of January, 1612, sanctioned these first establishments of the English on the continent of India. The only exactions to which their merchandise was exposed was a duty of 3½ per cent. for which they were afforded protection in their factories, and their property was secured, even should their agents die, till the arrival of the following fleet.

British merchants, still grasping at the shadow of eastern wealth, and anticipating, through the pride of kings, to gain their object, determined to make a more ostentatious attempt to place their affairs in India on a less changeable basis. An embassy was sent directly from the British king, with valuable presents, and attended by such pompous arrangements as might favourably impress the proud oriental potentate. Sir Thomas Roe sailed from Gravesend Jan. 24, 1615, and arrived in September, with two ships, at Surat, where he landed in great state, attended with eighty men-at-arms. His privilege, as ambassador of a powerful monarch, which he asserted, protected him from the intrusions and scrutiny, and from the vexatious exactions usually practised on merchants. In his way to the imperial presence he repaired to Boorrahanpore to do honour to the emperor's son, who represented the sovereignty of the Mogul, his

father. The viceroy, Purves, gratified his taste, good nature, and affability by display, and received the European messenger with magnificence and distinction; his facility, indolence, and diffidence, unfitted him for the duties of government; and the solicitations of Sir Thomas Roe for permission to his countrymen to establish a factory in that province had to be carried to a higher court. Jehangire was flattered by the compliments and representations of a distant monarch. Roe proceeded to Ajmere, where the emperor then resided, and passed through the country of the Rajpoots. Chittore was at this time entirely deserted; but it seemed to the English ambassador as a tomb of wonderful magnificence: more than a hundred stately temples, many lofty towers, and houses innumerable, appeared to crown the towering rock on which it stood. Sir Thomas waited on the emperor at his durbar, or levee, held in Ajmere, on the 10th of January, 1616. He had arrived nearly three weeks before, but he deferred his visit till the court was prepared. At the fit season he delivered the royal letter and presents, when his reception was so cordial that he assured his employers no other ambassador, either Turk or Persian, had ever obtained the like. He was placed at all subsequent durbars in a situation more distinguished than that of all the courtiers; he was permitted to state the grievances of the English in their trade at Surat and Ahmedabad, and received the assurance of the fullest redress. These were, however,

only flattering appearances; and the causes which operated against Hawkins wrought in the same hostile manner against him. Mocrib Khan, Asiph Jah, and Churrum, the favourite son of the emperor, formed an anti-English cabal; yet by perseverance and address the ambassador ultimately obtained a *phirman*, granting certain privileges to the English traders. He procured also a letter from the emperor, notwithstanding the fluctuations of his inconstant mind, addressed to the British sovereign, as to "a king rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, and clothed with honour and justice." Such were the flattering terms in which James the First was addressed by his royal brother sitting on the Mogul throne! How fit!!

From the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe, the greatest publicity, and even popularity, distinguished the ceremonies and splendour of this dazzling court. The life of the emperor was spent in public. He came to a window overlooking a wide plain, and exhibited himself in the morning, to a numerous assembly of the people; he appeared at the same place at noon, and was entertained by combats between elephants and wild beasts. In the afternoon he seated himself in the regular place of audience for all who presented themselves on business. In an open court called the Guzel Khan, he once more appeared in the evening at eight o'clock, where the time was spent chiefly in familiar or gay conversation with his favourites. Two

enclosures surrounded the royal throne: the first containing ambassadors, officers of state, and chiefs of the first degree; the second filled with persons of inferior dignity; and the open area beyond giving verge and room enough for the multitude. A full view of the imperial person was afforded to all; and unless the ruler were sick or drunk, which it was necessary to explain, he could not be excused from this slavish routine for a single day. The proceedings and ordinances of the state were made equally public, were daily written down, and the record allowed to be perused for a trifling fee. Whatever occurred was thus immediately known to all the people. The secret councils even, and changeful purposes of the prince were, Sir Thomas Roe asserts, "tossed and censured by every rascal." The pomp and display of this court consisted chiefly in an immense profusion of precious stones, which were collected from every quarter by plunder, purchase, or presents. On high occasions the emperor's person was completely laden, and more than covered with pearls, diamonds, and rubies. The trappings of the royal elephants were richly gilded, and their heads adorned with costly jewels. On the sovereign's birth-day, his chief amusement consisted in scattering the jewels, of one box full of rubies, and another full of gold and silver almonds, upon the ground in presence of his omrahs, and exciting these mighty nobles to throw themselves on the floor, and scramble for the toys, as children do for sugar-plums. At another time the courtly

pastime was occupied in "royal weighing;" when the emperor's person, arrayed in the brilliants and dazzling pomp of royal splendour, was put into the scales against heaps of money, of gold and jewels, of rich clothes and spices, or of corn, meat, and butter. This scene of folly was usually closed with the wildest intoxication. The ambassador most admired the range of royal tents when he had taken the field, which were surrounded by a wall half a mile in circuit; these again, encompassed by those of the nobles, exhibited the most elegant shapes and colours; he declares the whole "one of the greatest rarities and magnificences" he ever saw; the entire vale resembling a beautiful city.

Only six years afterward, four of the Company's ships sailed from Surat for the port of Jasques, a town of Persia, in the Gulf of Ormus, and attacked a Portuguese fleet, consisting of twenty-one vessels, large and small, blockading the port. They prevailed, and the Portuguese retired to Ormus; whence, having refitted, they came back for revenge. The English, who had entered Jasques, came out to encounter their assailants, and after an obstinate conflict, were victorious over a vast superiority of force. Joined by the Persians they attacked the Portuguese in Ormus; the whole of which island they had seized and fortified. The city and fortress were taken by the allies on the 22d of April, 1622, and the English shared the plunder, and received a grant of half the customs at the port of Gombroon; which place they rendered their principal station

in the Persian Gulf. Their security was interrupted in 1653 by the hostility of the Dutch, by whose more powerful fleet three of their ships were taken, and one destroyed. Their trade at Surat was suspended, and their coasting trade, consisting of the interchange of goods from one station to another, became so hazardous, under the domination of the Dutch fleet, as to be almost annihilated. In 1657 the Dutch pursued their schemes of aggrandisement and domination: having taken Ceylon from the Portuguese, they blockaded the port of Goa, and threatened an attack upon the island of Diu, which stood on the opposite coast of Cambay, and commanded the port of Swally.

British dominion was extended on these shores, and British enterprise received an impetus by the marriage treaty of Charles II. and the arrogant presumption of the king of Portugal, who, in 1661, ceded, as a part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine to the king of England, the island of Bombay. An armament, consisting of five men-of-war and five hundred troops, sent to receive possession, and commanded by the earl of Marlborough, arrived on the 18th of September, 1662, at Bombay. Salsette, and the other dependencies, it was understood by the English authorities, were included in the treaty. The Portuguese governor refused to surrender even the island of Bombay, which alone, he maintained, was all that was included in the cession, till further instructions, more consistent with the usages of his country, in royal

patents. During the delay occasioned by this controversy, the troops were wasting under the fervour of a tropical sun, and by long confinement on board. The commander applied to the Company's chief for liberty to bring his armament into Surat; but that magistrate, under the plea that this arrangement would excite the suspicion of the Mogul, and endanger the seizure of the Company's investment, and the expulsion of their servants from the country, refused the permission. The troops were, therefore, landed at Angedivah, twelve leagues from Goa, which proved extremely unhealthy; and during the protracted discussions between English and Portuguese authorities, the greater part of the military was carried off by famine and disease. After the king's officer had offered to transfer the rights of the crown to the Company, and the president with his council had declined the grant, as beyond the power of the officer to render valid, and requiring a force more than they could appoint to keep possession, the commander of the royal troops had no alternative, but to accept of Bombay on the terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The British government refused to ratify what their officer had done, and appointed a governor for Bombay, who should fulfil the royal pleasure. Instead of a jewel in the crown, it proved a costly bauble; and the king was fain to surrender it to the Company.

Bombahia—the *good bay*, a few barren rocks, ten miles long and three broad, situate in lat. 18° 56′ N.

long. 72° 57′ E., was granted, in 1668, to the Company, "to be held of the king in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of 10*l.* in gold, on the 30th of September in each year." Authority is given also by the same royal instrument to exercise all political powers necessary for its defence and government. To such capricious and unjust usurpations of royal princes must we ascribe the foundation of the western presidency. The population of Bombay did not then exceed 16,000 souls, the refuse or outcasts of the natives of India: 230,000 persons now inhabit its 15,500 houses: the sterling value of which is computed at more than 3,606,500*l.* The whole presidency, of which the island is the capital and supreme seat of government, forms an area of about 65,000 square miles, and contains upwards of seven millions of a population. It had continued dependent on Surat, the Company's earliest settlement, till 1683, when it was erected into a presidency. It became the principal station of the Company on the western side of India in 1686. This transference of the government from Surat had been succeeded by several serious and almost disastrous insurrectionary movements among the British servants. In 1674-75, a meeting, excited in consequence of some insignificant retrenchments, was suppressed by the trial and execution of ringleaders, under the formidable powers of martial law. It will not be wondered at if the servants should prove selfish

and disobedient, when they were instructed by their masters to employ "temporising expedients with the Mogul, with Sevagee, and with the petty rajahs; while secretly discretionary powers were entrusted to them to equip and send forth armed vessels to enforce their measures." Retrenchment a second time acted as the stimulant to insurrection. The expense of the government exceeded the revenue which the population and territory could be made to yield; a remedy was devised for this by diminishing the charges for the Company's servants. The commander of the garrison joined himself with his mutinous troops; and the great body of the people being alienated by vexatious exactions in the revenue, combined with the rebels. Captain Keigwin and his adherents renounced the authority of the Company, and declared by proclamation, dated 27th December, 1683, that the island belonged to the king. Keigwin, as the newly appointed governor, appealed for protection to the king; but he was ordered, by royal mandate, to deliver up the island to the commander of the Company's fleet, and a powerful force was prepared to subdue the insurgents. Keigwin offered, if assured of a free pardon for himself and adherents, to surrender the place to Sir T. Grantham, who was invested with the king's commission. His terms were accepted, and the island restored to obedience. In 1687, Bombay was elevated to the dignity of a regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the Company's settlements. The admiral

of the Mogul invested Bombay in 1688; and it was so closely pressed by him that Mahim, Sion, and Mazagong, were captured: the governor and garrison were besieged in the fort of Bombay, and the most powerful of all Mogul sovereigns issued orders to expel the English from his dominions; nor were the forces of Aurungzebe withdrawn from the settlement till submission was made to his supremacy. Until the close of the seventeenth century, Bombay languished in consequence of the ravages of the plague, the civil dissensions among the authorities, and the piracy carried on by Englishmen, who were denominated interlopers, and who were not servants of the Company.

The British power had yet to contend with, and remove obstructive adversaries to their greatness on the western coast, other than the Portuguese and the Moguls: the Mahrattas, the Siddees, and the piratical ruler of Severndroog. The Mahratta language is spoken along the coast from the island of Bardez, near Goa, to the river Taptee; and from Beder, or Ahmedabad, it is spread over the whole country to the north-westward of the Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep, until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea. In the mountainous regions which extended from the borders of Guzerat to Canara, lived a race of Hindoos still more rude and uncivilized than the inhabitants of the plains, but far more hardy and warlike. They

consisted of mountainous tribes or communities, to whom the name of the language Mahratta is applied. Their political power began while the empire of the Moguls was in its utmost strength, and rose to greatness upon its ruins. Their country is traversed by the precipitous and romantic Ghauts and the Vyndhia mountains. The whole is elevated, rugged, diversified with bleak table lands, and broken by numerous streams and torrents. All the hills and fastnesses were occupied by petty chieftains, whose homage to the imperial throne, or the regal sceptre of Beejapore, was merely nominal. They only waited for a leader of a comprehensive and daring mind to unite them into one powerful and independent state. Sevagee's father served the king of Beejapore, and held a jaghire in the Carnatic with a command of 10,000 horse. The father, while sustaining office in the South as a zimandaree, had also obtained a grant of Poonah; the charge of this district, and of his wife, and son whom he left here, he committed to Dadajee Punt, one of his officers. The son grew up to vigour, both in body and mind. Dadajee bestowed great pains upon him, and initiated him, if not in letters, which these mountaineers despised, in military exercises, in national legends and poetry, and a superstitious veneration for the Hindoo religious observances. At seventeen years of age, Sevajee engaged a number of banditti, and ravaged the neighbouring district. The guardian became alarmed by the reckless conduct of his pupil, and

to escape his apprehensions, swallowed poison. At his death, Sevajee took possession of the zemindaree, increased the number of his troops, and levied contributions in all the neighbouring districts. He obtained the almost inaccessible castle of Toma. Rajegur he fixed upon as the seat of his government, and increased his territory by the addition of Porundeh, Jagneh, and several districts dependent on the king of Beejapore. He put to death, by treachery, the rajah of Jaowlee, and seized his country and treasure; plundered the rich and manufacturing city of Kallean; took Madury, Purdhaunghur, Rajapore, Sungarpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese. After the foulest treachery, the basest dissimulation, and the most ungenerous cruelty, he took possession of the region of the Concan, the country between the Ghauts and the sea, from Goa to Damaun.

With great address, he surprised and plundered Surat; one of his most adventurous undertakings, and likely to reward his largest cupidity. It was a city of importance and renown, the chief port of the Mogul empire, the greatest emporium of India; that from which the Mohammedan pilgrims commenced their voyage to the tomb of the prophet, and perhaps at that time the richest city in the world. Confident in its greatness and wealth, the citizens seem to have rested secure; it was surrounded with only a slight earthen wall, which was insufficient even to retard the plundering bands of Sevajee. It is said, he had wandered through the

city in disguise during three days, marking the fittest objects for attack and plunder. As a feint, he formed two camps at once, before Bassien and Chaul, and seemed solely occupied in pressing the sieges of these places. His troops were, however, suddenly withdrawn from the former, a few being left to maintain the semblance of an army by lights, noise, and conformable appearance. Unexpectedly, the Mahratta force appeared before Surat, and as suddenly entered it without resistance. The governor retired within the fort; the Dutch and English remained within their factories; and the victorious army ranged through the vast city, appropriating every valuable object which could be found within its precincts. The booty in treasure, jewels, and other precious commodities, was valued at a million sterling. Twice afterwards did he attack Surat, and levy contributions from the merchants there; and in the sack of Rajapore exacted from the English factory 10,000 pagodas. He repeatedly threatened Bombay, and held in subjection the inhabitants of the neighbouring Concan.

Some of the daring exploits of this native chief afford material for an exciting narrative. When his armies were driven from the field, his country plundered, and his strongest fortress, Porundeh, which contained his female connexions and treasure, was besieged and reduced to the last extremity, his resolution and resources did not fail him. As an unarmed and conscious offender, he seemed to repose unlimited confidence in the generosity and

clemency of his victorious antagonist, and suffered himself to be led into the presence of the Mogul general, craved pardon, offered his services, and the immediate resignation of twenty forts to the emperor. Jeysing accepted his submission, and Sevajee complied with the imperial order to repair to Delhi. He now expected to be numbered among the principal omrahs of the palace, and offered to conduct the war against the Persians in Candahar. His services to the Mogul would have been valuable; and the subsequent consolidation of the Mahratta empire was such a breach upon the dominion of Delhi, as should not have been disregarded. But he was refused the expected honour,—was placed among the inferior omrahs in the hall of audience,—and the disgrace affected him to such a degree, that he wept and fainted away. Though cast down, his spirit would not brook the insult; his courage was not destroyed, and his energy was equal to the emergency. He meditated, and with address contrived the means of escape. His son, whom he had carried as a hostage, he concealed with a Brahmin, whom he had known, at Muttarah. The son was afterward restored to the father, who now assumed the garb of a pilgrim, and travelled to the shrine of Juggernaut, and thence by the way of Hyderabad to his own country. The general who had overcome him was now superseded by another,—a change favourable to the measure of Sevajee, who suffered no time to pass in inactivity, but assumed royal

titles and struck coins in his own name, and immediately employed his troops, who during his absence had been reserved in the best order for warfare, to attack the Mogul territories and forts. He accompanied these movements by the most plausible representations of his remaining loyalty to the imperial standard; complained that his faithful offer of services had been treated with scorn, but still desired to walk within the paths of obedience; and if any command in the Mogul army, not dishonourable, were bestowed upon his son, that he was anxious to place him in the imperial service. His stratagem succeeded; and during a truce which he obtained, he supplied his forts with stores; when, having dexterously withdrawn his son from the emperor's army, he captured several important districts belonging to Beejapore, exacted a tribute from its king, of 300,000 pagodas, and another of 400,000 from the king of Golcondah. The Mahrattas continued thus to plunder the adjoining countries, retreating with the spoil to their forts, though opposed by the imperial commanders. In 1677, Sevajee's rising power tempted the king of Golcondah to enter into an alliance with him against the Moguls and the king of Beejapore; and the Mahratta chieftain appeared in Golcondah at the head of 40,000 horse. Conquests were made with great appearance of fidelity by Sevajee: but Mahratta governors were placed in all the fortresses, and the plunderer himself only was enriched. Treachery obtained for him the

impregnable fortress of Gingee, and he laid siege to Vellore; his flying squadrons were here resisted for four months. He was recalled to his western dominions by the efforts of his enemies: his own son appeared for a season among his opponents, and accepted protection and rank from the Moguls. But the young Mahratta speedily returned to filial submission and his father's allegiance, and escaped from Mogul surveillance a short time before the death of Sevajee, who breathed his last in his fortress of Rayree, on the 5th April, 1682. The founder of the Mahratta power was only fifty-two years old when he died, and his indefatigable and extraordinary career was terminated by disease—inflammation of the chest.

There were other springs of Sevajee's success than his prowess or policy, and other sources of Mahratta power among the Hindoo tribes than the fortresses of their hill country, or the swiftness and number of their Horse. Aurungzebe had, in the earlier period of his career, made loud professions of zeal for the faith of Mohammed; but, till a later era in his reign, he seemed to have relaxed his bigotry. Whether the spirit of this darkest passion had been revived, or was merely assumed, to increase the attachment of Mohammedans; or whether only the success of the Mahratta freebooters, and a suspicion that they enjoyed the good wishes, perhaps aid, of their religious associates, actuated him, has been questioned; but he attempted by the most unjustifiable means to coerce his Hindoo

subjects to the creed of the *Crescent*. Resistance and defeat irritated the emperor's zeal, and he forthwith commenced a religious war upon his Hindoo people. A few yielded to his persuasion or threatenings, and the remainder were visited for their obstinacy with the extortion of heavy fines and taxes. It had been thought, these exactions would replenish the decayed treasury of Aurungzebe: but the measure was unsuccessful, and lost him the attachment and submission of a great number of the Hindoos. On this subject, and before the emperor went to such extremes, the rajah of Joudpore had made a bold and animated appeal. He had reminded Aurungzebe of the tolerant policy of Akbar, Jehangire, and Shah Jehan; and reprobated any attempt to collect a revenue upon the consciences of men, and to vex the devotee and anchoret with a tax upon his belief; and then enforced his appeal with these observations: "If your majesty places any confidence in those books by distinction called divine, you will be there instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not of Mohammedans alone. The pagan and Mussulman are equal in his presence; distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples it is in his name that the voice calls to prayer; in the house of images the bell is shaken:—still he is the object of our adoration. To vilify, therefore, the religion, or the customs of other men, is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty." How

unavailing was this argument of the Hindoo prince with the intolerant persecutor appeared in the following incident. The maharaja, Jesswunt Sing, died near Caubul, in 1681. His children, on their return to their native country, were required to visit the Mogul court; and the emperor ordered they should be *rendered Mohammedans.* Their Rajpoot attendants contrived their escape, and fled with them to their own country. A sense of the danger which threatened the common creed of the Hindoos overwhelmed all their international disputes.

Aurungzebe never could fully retrieve this error; nor is it in the spirit of intolerant bigotry ever to make a generous concession to those whom it has persecuted. The contempt in which the authority of his weak successors was held, did not allay the indignation which his conduct had excited. Senseless fanaticism had resorted to persecution at the moment when Mogul power was beginning to decline, and its enemies to arise in every quarter. Invited by weakness and provoked by injury, it was not surprising if the rajpoot princes and chiefs of Central India, once the defence of the Mogul throne, became secretly or openly the supporters of Mahratta invaders. Persian and Hindoo writers testify that the success of the Mahrattas in their first invasion of Malwa was attributed chiefly to the action of religious feeling. A communication characteristic of the times and parties farther illustrates the religious character of the movement. The Mahratta chief,

Bajerow, sent a verse of the Purana (the Hindoo sacred writings) to the rajah Jye Singh, which is thus literally translated: "Thou art like the cloud which drinketh the waters of the sea, and returneth them with thunders to fertilize the earth. The mountains, in dread of Indra, fly to thee for protection. Thou art the tree of desires. Thou art the sea, from which springeth the tree of desires: who can tell thy depth! I have no power to describe the depth of the ocean: but in all thy actions remember August Muni." In Hindoo mythology, Muni drank up the sea; the metaphorical communication, therefore, however flattering, conveyed a distinct warning of what might happen if he opposed the Brahminical sway. Jye Singh's answer was given in words from the same volume: "If the tribe of Brahma sin with me, I forgive them. This pledge I hold sacred. It was of no consequence that August Muni drank up the sea; but if God should doom the walls that retain the ocean to be thrown down, then the world would be destroyed, and what would become of August Muni?" The Hindoos believe the sea to be walled in; and the allusion to that element being let loose upon the earth, addressed to a Brahmin, who should preserve instead of destroy the general order, was reckoned peculiarly apposite. A warning was conveyed to Bajerow of the consequences that would ensue from breaking down long-established authority. Sir John Malcolm appeals to these facts, "as they show the effect produced by an

attack upon the religion of the Rajpoots, a warlike and superstitious race of men. It led them to welcome freebooters to their homes;" and they still remember the causes which led to this revolution; the attempt made to alter their religion then, excites indignation now. Their minstrels and bards—Charuns and Bhats—who are their only historians, relate even yet the injustice and oppression which overthrew their temples to establish the edifices of another system, and raised a revenue on their creed; insulting as it was oppressive: since it was levied on all their religious ceremonies, even to those performed over their dead. The fame of those who overthrew the mosques of their tyrants, which had been erected on the consecrated spots of Hindoo idolatry; and who restored the hallowed ground to its primitive and endeared associations, is celebrated in animated strains. The theme is familiar, in a degree hardly to be credited, to the modern Hindoos. Raised by the enterprise and genius of Sevajee to the proud rank of being the first scourge, and afterward the destroyer, of the Mohammedan empire, the cause of the Mahrattas had in all its early stages the aid of religious feeling. It was a kind of *holy war*, and the appearance of the Brahmins at the head of their armies gave in the first instance force to this impression.

The characters sustained by the Brahmins and soldiers among the Mahrattas, if properly appreciated, will afford insight to the nature of their warfare. From diet, education, and habit, the

Mahratta Brahmin is keen, active, and intelligent, but generally avaricious, and often treacherous. His life, in public business, is generally passed in efforts to deceive, and to detect others in deceiving; cunning is raised to the place of wisdom, and a mean, sordid, and interested bent is given to his mind; even when elevated from the lowest stations to the offices of minister or ruler in the state, which has been not unfrequent, the meanest features remain, and their character undergoes but little change. The unlettered Mahratta of the Khetri, or Sudra caste, enters upon his career as a soldier in the same dress, and with the same habits, with which he had tilled his field or tended his flocks; and the same simplicity of character has generally been preserved in all his vicissitudes of power and consideration, or reverses of defeat and obscurity. His patience under fatigue, hunger, and thirst—his manliness of resolution, unchangeable in success or adversity—are lauded by a diligent admirer: though it be admitted the Mahratta soldier was more distinguished by art than valour, and gloried as much in rapid flight as in daring attack. The mould in which he was formed is traced by the nature of Hindoo institutions, by the example of Sevajee and his leaders, and by the facility of his conquests. His strength lay in his contrast with the proud and formal Moslem, in his familiar association with the Hindoo population of the countries which he invaded; and his progress was never prevented by the pomp, luxury, or pride, which formed so

often, among the Moguls or their Hindoo soubahdars, an incumbrance and impediment to the most successful conquerors. Their character and actions as soldiers and invaders were singular; they had few, if any, features in common with other nations. The means, ostensibly rejected by the pride of other conquerors, seem to have been always preferred by the Mahrattas; the depraved, the desperate, and discontented, were invited to their standard; robbers and plunderers were courted as auxiliaries, and permitted for a period to act for their own advantage in their own mode. If they could insinuate themselves by wiles into a share of the management, and make a party amongst the inhabitants of a district or a country, they judged it better than to use force, though possessed of superior power. Their patience and humility in effecting these objects were peculiar; they were ever willing to divide the government and share the revenues with the Hindoo military chiefs whom they found in power. They flattered the prejudices and conformed to the usages of village communities; and conciliated by every concession, provided they enjoyed the *choute*, or fourth of the revenue as their tribute. Yet the leaders were all as equals, were united only by a common thirst for plunder, and had no bond of alliance or confederacy except a common enemy and equal danger; their armies depended, as predatory hordes, on success for pay, and the leaders were invested with powers for the *immediate* collection of tribute or revenues from

the provinces into which they were sent. This everywhere produced the same effects, and public interest was lost sight of in the desire of individuals to promote their own ambition. In a revenue account of Dhurrempooree for 1690, a district which lies to the north of the Nerbudda, and south of Mandoo, the revenue is represented as having been reduced from 81,072 rupees by an incursion of the Mahrattas to 32,589. Their absence in the following year caused the revenue to rise to 72,139 rupees; the next year it amounted, from the same cause, to 89,684. But a return of these southern plunderers, as they are denominated in the Revenue Record, in 1694, brought it as low as 30,002 rupees, while their retreat, during the next year, made it reach its wonted value. By this it appears that the result of their exactions fell upon the government of the Mogul rather than upon the people.

Sevajee was succeeded by his eldest son Sambagee, whose ascent to power was resisted by a younger brother, the principal of whose adherents were ultimately destroyed. The Mahratta and imperial generals carried on the war in the Deckan for several years, by sudden inroads on the one side, and pursuit on the other. Akbar, a younger son of Aurungzebe, revolted from his father's standard, and took refuge with Sambagee. The Mahratta chief highly prized this acquisition, and received the prince with such honours as to refuse to sit in his presence. A desultory warfare, which

had no important result, was for a time carried on by the emperor himself; but he sent his son, Shah Aulum, into the Concan to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the coast. Provision could not be procured for the Mogul troops, the climate disagreed with them, and only a remnant of the army returned. But Sambagee exposed himself to treachery, and was caught in the snare of luxurious pleasures. Spies informed the emperor that his enemy was thus indulging his passions at a mountain fort not far distant, and imperfectly guarded. Sambagee had been too formidable an adversary, and with eager haste the Mogul despatched troops to surprise and take him. He was soon a prisoner, and his death followed immediately. The emperor glutted his eyes with the butchery of his enemy, and the Mahratta relaxed none of his haughtiness in the presence of death. Rayree, where Sevajee had died, and which his son had made his capital fortress, the asylum of his family, fell into the hands of the victor, with the wives and infant son of Sambagee. His brother Rama, however, escaped from the Concan, and threw himself into Gingee, where, by the great strength of the fortress and the bravery of his adherents, he gave occupation to the Mogul troops for many years. The final subjugation of the Mahrattas was eagerly pursued, and the principal army of the Mogul was carried into their own country, to be employed in the reduction of their forts. Under various chiefs, they issued from their mountain defiles, and spreading devastation over the

newly subdued provinces of Golcondah and Beejapore, and as far as Berar, Malwa, and Candeish, carried great plunder back, and left desolation behind. Their policy was to elude a regular action, in which they would be easily conquered; they shunned rencounter, retired to their mountains when pursued, and hanging upon the rear of their enemy when obliged to return, they resumed their devastating pillage whenever the country was cleared of the troops sent to oppose them. The emperor's success was great among the forts in accessible parts of the Mahratta country; but his adversaries so enriched themselves by preying upon his dominions, and so increased in multitude and power, being joined by the zemindars of the countries which they repeatedly overran, that the advantages of the contest were decidedly in their favour.

The last years of Aurungzebe were not marked by wisdom or vigour; while the servants of his choice were incompetent and selfish; and his government became so defective that the Mahrattas found the whole country south of the Nerbudda open to their incursions. The emperor expired in his camp at Ahmednuggur on the 21st of July, 1709, in the ninety-fourth year of his life, after having reigned nearly fifty years. His son, Shah Aulum, unable to subdue the Mahrattas, determined to accede to the terms of these marauders, who had offered to cease from their plunder on condition of receiving the *choute*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts exposed to their inroads. He thereby delivered

some of the finest provinces of India from a perennial and dreaded scourge.

Ballajee Bishwanath, who was raised to the high office of paishwah, the FIRST, or head of the Mahratta confederacy, in 1714, revived the spirit of the Mahrattas, and restored them to activity. His son and successor, who became paishwah in April 1720, despatched a powerful force to lay waste the country, and collect tribute from the princes and government officers *north* of the Nerbudda. This was one of the earliest measures of Bajerow Bullal. It appears from the Poona Records, that incursions were made into Malwa in 1721; while Nizam-ul-Mulk was soubahdar of the Deckan, Guzerat was overrun and reduced by Oudajee Puar in the year 1722. His successor, Rajah Girdhur Bahadur, was attacked and defeated in 1724 by an army of Mahrattas, under the brother of the paishwah, Chimnajee Pundit, and his fellow-robber Oudajee Puar. These chiefs then proceeded to attack Sarungpore, whose Moslem governor was glad to purchase their departure by a tribute of 15,000 rupees. About the end of 1725 several officers were named to collect tribute. A permanent arrangement was made, and specific territories were appropriated to respective chieftains, in 1732, the paishwah having been tempted to march on the preceding year with a large army from Poonah, and made himself master of Nemaur and Malwa. In the latter he encountered Dia Bahadur, the relation and successor of Rajah Girdhur as soubahdar; but the

defeat and death of this officer gave the province to the Mahrattas. No commander was found resolute or courageous enough to attempt to arrest the progress of the paishwah and his adventurers. Sevai Iye Singh, though nominated to the high office, prevailed on the emperor to appoint Bajerow soubahdar of Malwa. Before the Mogul complied with this counsel, the Horse of the paishwah had ravaged the countries of Allahabad and Agra, and the imperial armies had failed in their efforts to expel them from that province.

This may be reckoned as the period when the Mahratta power and empire were consolidated, and ranked as a legitimate government. As rulers, the Mahrattas conducted themselves in a conciliatory manner toward the inhabitants; their exactions were moderate, and their authority soon acquired a strength which had not been possessed by the Moguls for many years. The paishwah was elevated by *letters* from the emperor to the highest rank among the nobles of the empire—a grant of territories and a splendid dress (khelaut) were conferred, and he was succeeded by his son Ballajee in his power and honours, in 1740; only that, instead of soubahdar, the new paishwah (Ballajee) is designated *naib*, or deputy for a season. This inferior title was subsequently revoked by the emperor, and the paishwah officially installed by a *sunnud*, or deed, as the soubahdar of Malwa; and he acted subsequently not as the servant, but the master of the Mogul, by the extortion of large

sums of money on the most groundless and insulting pretexts. The origin of the chiefs, whose word was given as guarantee for his fidelity, gives character to the transaction and the times. Ranojee Sindia had carried the slipper of Ballajee's father; and Mulhar Row Holkar had but a few years before herded a flock of goats at his native village in the Deckan. The territory over which Mahratta rulers bore sway—as the recognised authorities, to whom the subjects were required to yield allegiance, and with whom the British government held intercourse as such, when their dominion was most extensive,—exceeded 340,000 square miles—a surface more than equal to half the present empire of Britain in Hindostan. Changes have since passed upon their power, and the extent of their territory. They have lost the Concans, Darwar, Huttah, Saugur, Ahmedabad, Ajmere, Candeish, Guzerat, the Doâbs, Bundlecund, and Salsette. The rajah of Sattara is tolerated under British protection, and the paishwah is a state pensioner at two millions sterling per annum. There are parts of Malwa and Guzerat as native states, subject to British protection. Holkar and Guicowar are subsidized princes: Lahore and Scindiah, though independent, are unable to withstand British influence.

A Mahratta camp shall close this hasty sketch of these warlike banditti. Major S. says, "it is not quite what you would expect;" an immense village, or rather collection of villages, with about a dozen chunamed, or shell-plastered buildings, shapeless,

coarse, and without any sign of ornament, would give a more likely idea. Here and there many small trees and hedges of the milk plant, all of quick growth and late planting, and imparting to the whole a fixed and settled aspect. When you look again, and examine more closely, you see interspersed tents and palls, flags and pennons in myriads; in some parts hutted lines and piles of arms; in one range a large regular park of artillery; in all the open spaces horses regularly picketed, strings of camels, and a few stately elephants. On the skirts of this heterogeneous mass are a few smaller and more regular encampments, occupied by particular chiefs, with their followers, better armed and mounted. The sounds are heard of neighings, and prancings, of drums, of horns, and fire arms: occasionally the piercing trump of the elephant, mingled in confusion with the hum of a population, loud, busy, and tumultuous, proclaim, even afar off, that the trade here is war, and the manufactures are the weapons of destruction. Such is the suburban encampment of Gualior, the strong fortress of Scindiah.

The Bombay marine, sustained by the East India Company, and peculiar to the presidency on the western coast, had its origin in the early conflicts between Arab pirates, Persian war-boats, and a species of naval force created by the Beejapore, Mahratta, and Mogul powers on the coast. The Portuguese had, from their first voyage, encountered warlike fleets manned by Egyptian Mohammedans,

equipped by the sultan of Cairo, and fighting under the banner of the Crescent. The marine of Ormuz, too, had given them occupation, and put to the test their bravery and naval enterprise. We read of the squadrons of the Egyptian admiral, Mir Hocem, and the gallantry of Melique Az, viceroy of Diu—of the conflicts between these Arabs and the Portuguese, Lorenzo—the galleys of Almeyda and Albuquerque, and the combined fleets of the Moors in the gulfs of Persia or Cambay. These Abyssinian or Egyptian sailors had been attracted to the coasts of India, and found pay or plunder in the service of the Hindoo rajahs, or under the more congenial auspices of the Moslem moguls; and through the straits of Babel-Mandeb, a fresh stream of adventurers and mercenary warriors poured in upon the shores of India, during the succeeding centuries. Such were the progenitors of the Malabar Mauplies, the Concane Siddees, and the maritime subjects of Angria and his short-lived dominion. In the transactions of Sevajee's career we hear, for the first time in the history of India, of a naval war carried on by the Hindoo powers.

A chief, distinguished by the name of Siddee Jore, had then the government of the town of Dunda Rajapore—a sea-port to the southward of Bombay, belonging to the king of Beejapore—and commanded, at the same time, the fleet which that sovereign had formed to protect his maritime dominions and their trade. Enemies who needed to be watched now infested the coast of India,

and naval armaments were maintained for this purpose. Siddee was a name applied in common to those Abyssinian adventurers who now passed over from their own country into the service of the Deckan rajahs: by their prowess and their services they worked themselves into the confidence of the Hindoos, and often engrossed a great proportion of the principal offices of state. Siddee *Jore* was striving by signal services to resist the ambitious projects of the first Mahratta chief, and to commend himself for reward to the notice of the rajah of Beejapore, when Sevajee unexpectedly assailed Dunda Rajapore, and obtained possession of it by stratagem. The king was so enraged by the loss of this maritime port, that he procured the assassination of his unsuccessful mercenary. Siddee Jore had a son who was able to resent this murderous outrage. He commanded a fleet which lay at the fortified island of Gingerah. When the murder of his father was committed, he tendered his services, the surrender of the island, and the transference of the fleet and its instruments of war to the Mogul, which were at once greedily accepted. He was joined by a great number of his family and countrymen, who enlisted with the admiral under the banner of Aurungzebe. They seem ultimately to have conducted warlike enterprises on their own account, and to have extended their operations above the Malabar coast. The admiral was designated *The Siddee*, as a distinction: *Siddee* was *prefixed* to the names of his

principal officers, and their crew and followers were known as the Siddees. They carried on an active warfare along the whole coast of western India; were dangerous and troublesome enemies to the Mahrattas, and formidable to the British, as well as other European traders who frequented the coast. The Mahrattas deemed it necessary to check, if they could not overthrow, their piratical adversaries, and raised a permanent fleet to subserve their purposes. In this service a man, who had filled the humblest stations, and possessed no early title to distinction, acquired eminence, eclat, and power: he rose from one post to another, till he became admiral of the Mahratta fleet. He was so trusted that his masters appointed him governor of Severndroog, the strongest maritime fortress, in those days, in the East, situated on a rocky and inaccessible island, about a cannon-shot from the continent, and eight miles north from Dabul. The security of situation, and the extent and consolidation of his power, excited his ambition: he quarrelled with his masters, and revolted, with the greater part of his fleet, from the Mahratta government, whom he set at defiance with impunity; naval warfare was not their study, nor was the sea the element of their power! He rendered himself master of the coast from Tannah to Rajapore: an extent of sixty leagues. The Mahrattas recognised his power, and compounded their claim by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection! Conagee Angria was the name by

which this successful adventurer was known, and piracy and plunder were the source of his revenue. His power continued to increase: his fleets struck terror into all commercial navigators on the western coast of India. During almost half a century, the ships of the European traders were harassed by this predatory community, and repeatedly made futile and unsuccessful efforts to subdue them.

The whole line of coast is peculiarly adapted to this species of depredation: it is intersected by many rivers, whose embouchures upon the sea served as harbours for the light craft, and became nests and lurking-places for the pirates; whilst their strong-holds, in which to conceal or deposit their plunder, were hidden, secure, and contiguous. Moreover the interchange of sea and land breezes, and the numerous trading ports from Calicut to Diu and Ormuz, required the ships to keep close to the land. The combination of two of the greatest powers which have held sway in India for two centuries was required to extirpate these corsairs. In 1755 an English squadron under Commodore James, in union with an army of Mahrattas, attacked Severndroog and Bancoote,—a fort in the southern Concan,—which were taken in opposition to a formidable resistance. On the arrival of Colonel Clive at Bombay, the complete and final subjugation of these sailor adventurers was decreed. At first they had been, like their present adversaries, the regular naval force, the legitimate fleet of their masters: they were now

acting for themselves, and *therefore* a piratical state to be reduced! Gheriah was the capital of Angria, standing on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and was protected by a fort of extraordinary strength. The English fleet, consisting of eight ships, besides a grab and five bomb .ketches, having on board eight hundred Europeans and one thousand sepoys, arrived at Gheriah on February 11, 1756, commanded by Colonel Clive. A Mahratta army cooperated with them, and approached on the other side. The number of the assailants, and the violence of the cannonade, terrified Angria and his adherents. They made a feeble resistance, and failed to profit by the advantages of their position. Angria submitted to his former masters, placed himself in the hand of the Mahrattas, and the fort was surrendered to the English commander. Thus the Company's marine became ascendant, assumed the dominion of those seas, and established the authority of the British flag from the shores of the Red Sea, the straits of Babel-Mandeb, along the Persian Gulf, by the mouths of the Indus, and to the remotest point of the Malabar coast, in all the creeks and havens which stretch to the straits of Malacca and Singapore.

The Bombay marine was stronger at the beginning of this century than it is now. But in our knowledge of it the Indian navy was inferior to the service of the regular British navy in no respect, whether in the naval tactics and bravery of the

men in times of danger; in the extent and usefulness of the valuable surveys made by its officers in the gulfs, bays, islands, and rivers, within the Company's dominion; or in the general character, friendly and obliging disposition and manners of the higher members of the service. They had several frigates, four eighteen-gun ships, six ten-gun corvettes, several brigs and armed steamers. Besides vice-admiral and superintendent, they had about one hundred and fifty commissioned officers, in the various gradations of rank which are sustained in the British navy, five hundred European seamen, with a large force of Lascars or native seamen. Ship-building on an extensive scale is carried on in Bombay, and men-of-war of the first size and strength have been constructed in that extensive dock-yard. A class of men connected with the city and port of Bombay, and largely engaged in the shipping and commerce of the presidency, are the Parsees; who form not one of the least valuable classes of British subjects in this region.

These fire worshippers, — *Guebers,* they are called by Mohammedan Persians,—suffered expulsion from Persia rather than abandon their religious rites and conform to the decrees of the Koran. They emigrated from Persia in the seventeenth century, and carried with them the emblem which, with religious veneration, they consecrate to the honour of God—the sacred fire, and which they deposited at Oodwara. Many of them travelled along the coast of Western India by Danoo

and Cape Sejan, till they entered the province of Guzerat, from which they have advanced to Bombay. Some among them have here risen to the highest opulence and influence, being partners in the chief mercantile houses: such as the Forbesses, and others of European name. The wealthiest are merchants, extensive land-owners, brokers and ship-owners; the majority are active, industrious, and intelligent tradesmen and mechanics; the only exception they make to any trade or art is, where fire is required; they do not work in *metals;* they refuse to bear arms as soldiers. The charitable resources among the Parsees for their poor are munificent and abundant: so that no one sees or hears of a Parsee beggar. Their people are divided into clergy and laity: but they may rather be called secular and religious: the clerical section are distinguished by a white turban,—are hereditary in their separation; their number is great, but this occasions no inconvenience, as, with the exception of the men immediately engaged in the celebration of rites, they follow all kinds of occupations equally with their secular brethren. They have no statues of the Deity, angels, men, or inferior animals; no altars or temples, properly so called; they reverence the whole vault of heaven, stars, sun, planets, earth, fire, water and winds, but offer to them no sacrifices. Their Zend-avesta, or sacred book, chiefly consists of a series of prayers and liturgic services They regard *light* as the noblest symbol of the

supreme Being; they present their adorations to the rising sun, but they suffer not his rays to fall direct on the sacred fire. They suppose a continued warfare between good and evil spirits, as the Gnostics of old; they believe in three places for the reception of departed spirits: heaven, for the only good; hanustan, where the souls, whose actions have been equally balanced, remain till the judgment-day; and hell, which is not eternal. Since they believe God delights in the happiness of his creatures, they have no fasts, no polygamy, no celibacy, and no concubinage. They admit converts, and esteem the planting of trees among their good works.

The settlement of the British on the Coromandel coast, and the foundation of their power, now swayed over the entire population of the Western Peninsula, took their origin in small beginnings. Factories were commenced at Masulipatam and Pulicate; in the former the traders suffered oppression from the native government, in the latter the rivals of the Dutch withstood them; they therefore purchased a piece of ground from the chief of Nellore, and erected and fortified a factory at Armegum, to which they withdrew in 1628. It was not found a convenient station for their trade in piece-goods; the principal article of their commerce on that coast. They therefore eagerly embraced permission granted by a local chief to erect a fort at Madraspatnam, which they named Fort St. George, in 1639. To the prince

of Bijanagur they owed this favour. The cession extended along the shore five miles, and in breadth one mile inland; in lat. 13° 5′ north, long. 80° 21′ east. In 1653, it became a presidency of the Company, with a military force of twenty-six soldiers; and in the following year, the directors ordered the number to be reduced to ten! The town consisted of three divisions. The first, the white town, where resided only the English and other Europeans under their protection, contained fifty houses, besides the warehouses and other buildings of the Company, and an English and Roman Catholic church. Surrounded with a wall, it was defended by four bastions and four batteries, weak and ill-constructed. In the second division on the north side, and contiguous to the former, resided the Armenian and the richest Indian merchants; it was larger and worse fortified. The space lying still farther north was occupied by hovels and houses of native construction, and inhabited by natives only.—Black Town was the name given to these two divisions. The census of the inhabitants within the fort, the town, and the adjacent villages within the Company's boundaries, amounted in 1687 to 300,000. The English were only 300; of whom were 200 soldiers of the garrison. Hindoo Christians, or descendants of the Portuguese, were between three and four thousand; the rest were Armenians, Mohammedans or Hindoos. Thirteen years after this date it was besieged by one of Aurungzebe's generals.

In the year 1692, another factory was established at Negapattam, and a tract of country purchased from a native power, which was secured by an official grant. The factory was defended by a wall and bulwarks, and denominated Fort St. David. It lay sixteen miles south of Pondicherry, and was a hundred miles south-west of Madras. A grant of three other villages was obtained in the vicinity of Madras, by the influence of Surgeon Hamilton with the Mogul emperor.

About the year 1690 the ambition of the English authorities began to contemplate an *Indian Empire;* and they directed their servants in the East to use every means to become a nation in India. Another power, however, interposed an equal desire of empire and supremacy in the East, and pursued it with almost equal talent and enterprise. Their chief servants were as zealous, and, for a season, far more successful and adventurous. The French formed an East India Company in 1664, and directed their efforts first to Madagascar, and when unsuccessful there, to the two contiguous islands, then called Cerne and Mascarhenas, but now known as the Mauritius and Bourbon. They attempted the settlement of factories at Surat in 1668, and afterwards in Ceylon, at Trincomalee and on the Coromandel coast. They failed from unprosperous trade, or the hostility of the Dutch. A more prosperous effort was made by M. Martin and a few scattered adventurers, whom he collected and landed on the shores of the Carnatic. The site of the projected colony

was a sandy plain, producing only palm trees, millet, and a few herbs. There was a village and a slip of land about five miles, which the adventurers purchased from the king of Beejapore in 1672, and called Pondicherry. By judicious and conciliatory conduct, the attachment of the natives was gained, an advantageous trade opened, and the settlement was raised to a prosperous condition; and, as a populous city, continued the capital of the French power in India. The fortifications were strong, and the town contained many handsome and regular buildings: the houses being in general two stories high, with flat roofs, and colonnades in their fronts. Mahe on the Malabar coast, Carical contiguous to Negapatam, and Chandernagore in Bengal, were the next settlements acquired by the French. Varied success attended their enterprises in India. In the history of no power, even in the East, have there been such reverses and returning prosperity, such chequered vicissitudes, and such capricious and unlooked-for mutations of power and influence. At one time they gave law to the nabobs, rajahs, and soubahdars of the Deckan, leading the councils, presiding in the durbars, and dictating to the highest representatives of the Mogul; determining what candidate should hold the nominal sovereignty of the Carnatic, and installing the soubahdar upon the throne of the Deckan. At their capital settlement they appeared only to wait their own time and pleasure when Madras should be reduced to a fishing village, and its English occupants

expelled as outcasts from every territory or settlement of the Peninsula. By one successful manœuvre, we find them adding to their other extensive domains, six hundred miles of country in length, and territory in breadth so great as to yield a revenue of 855,000*l.* annually; their acquisitions in other parts being limited only by their discretion in demanding, and their power of retaining, the dominions of their native tributaries. At another time we do not find even a shadow of those possessions. Their territories occupied by their rivals, their armies dispersed by hostile troops, their chiefs, generals, and authorities, prisoners of war waiting the decree of their conquerors, and exposed to all the indignities of captivity and chains. Only three ruinous and unproductive settlements remain in their possession now; and their influence in India has passed away like a summer cloud.

The men who distinguished themselves in these early struggles were Labourdonnais, Dupliex, Bussy, De Lally, and Law. Labourdonnais, a native of St. Malo, entered when he was ten years of age on board a ship bound for the South Seas in 1709. Four years afterward he made a voyage to the East Indies and the Philippine Islands. From a Jesuit, a passenger in the ship, he acquired a knowledge of mathematics. In 1719, after several voyages to other parts of the world, he entered into the service of the French East India Company as second lieutenant, and sailed for Surat. In his second voyage he was first lieutenant, and in his

third he sailed as captain, in 1724. Every voyage was marked by some effort distinguishing his active mind. In his last voyage he acquired a knowledge of the principles of fortification and tactics, from an engineer officer, one of his passengers. Remaining in India, engaged as a private trader, he realized a large fortune in a few years. He was the first Frenchman who navigated a vessel on his own account in the eastern seas. By the force of his character, and an honourable generosity of mind, he prevailed to reconcile the commanders of some Portuguese and Arabian ships who had quarrelled in the harbour of Mocha. This service recommended him to the viceroy of Goa, who gave him the command of a ship of war in the Portuguese navy, adorned him with orders and rank, and appointed him agent of the king of Portugal on the Coromandel coast. For two years he held this situation; and having matured his knowledge of the traffic and navigation of those seas, he returned to France in 1733. His reputation obtained for him in his native country the highest distinction; he was nominated governor-general of the isles of France and Bourbon by the French government. When he arrived there, in 1735, he found the people few in number, poor, without industry, and without knowledge. Military or naval force, fortification, magazine, or hospital, they had none; nor yet roads, beasts of burden, or vehicles. But as every thing remained to be done, Labourdonnais seemed capable of every thing. He had a

head to contrive, and a hand to execute; he was ship-builder, engineer, architect, and agriculturist. He introduced every means of improvement, and made industry and the useful arts to flourish. His assiduity and success created enemies. Captains and traders were displeased and disappointed by his rigid restraints upon their schemes of injustice and chicanery, and the subordinate authorities at home cooperated with his adversaries, till, disgusted with his treatment, he returned to France, determined to resign his office. A scheme, contrived between him and the ministry, was resolved upon, which, it was anticipated, would sweep English commerce from the eastern seas, and Labourdonnais was despatched in 1741 to carry it into effect; but before he reached his destination, his plans were frustrated by the French ministry having adopted other plans. War was declared between France and England in 1744, of which he was apprised while fulfilling his duties as governor of the islands to which he had been originally appointed. He was ready to enter with national ardour into the warlike operations, but was compelled by orders to wait till 1746. His inventive genius supplied him with resources and instruments for the hostile enterprise, which took his adversaries unawares, and excited the hatred of his rivals. On the 6th of July he came in sight of the English fleet sailing off fort St. David. The battle afforded no advantage to either party, but it was the beginning of many bloody encounters. After

visiting Pondicherry, he proceeded to invest Madras, landed some troops a few miles to the south of the fort, and, with the ships on sea and the soldiers on shore cooperating, he arrived within cannon-shot of the town. His naval and military force amounted to about 3,600 destined for the siege. After five days the Madrassees capitulated, and Labourdonnais pledged his honour to restore the settlement to the British for a moderate ransom. He had not lost a man; four or five of the English had been killed by the explosion of the bombs; the magazines and warehouses of the Company were taken possession of by French commissaries, and Labourdonnais protected the inhabitants most honourably. The governor of Pondicherry refused to fulfil the captor's terms in the capitulation, and Madras was retained by the French; every article of property, with trifling exceptions, was seized. The principal inhabitants and their governor were carried in triumph to Pondicherry. This unprincipled conduct, which Labourdonnais could not prevent, disappointed and alienated his generous mind; he submitted to the authority of this superior, and sailed in charge of several French ships hardly able to float. He brought his squadron to Bourbon, and hastened to Europe, to meet the accusations of his adversaries. As a passenger he sailed in a Dutch vessel, in which, in consequence of the declaration of war, he had to enter an English harbour. Labourdonnais was recognised, and made prisoner. His conduct at Madras procured

for him now the most honourable treatment. He was received with honour and distinction by all classes. The directors of the Company and the government vied with each other in acts of greatest liberality; he was allowed to depart for France without any security but the *word* of Labourdonnais. How different was his reception in France! The representations of Dupliex, governor of Pondicherry, had arrived before him; and though the governor had violated a solemn treaty, and Labourdonnais had faithfully and honourably served his country, he was thrown into the Bastile, where he lingered three years. His authenticated vindication, his palpable innocence, the ardour and ability of his services, availed him not. His liberation came but a little time before his death; and he remained a melancholy and memorable example how a blind and despotic government encourages desert.

Joseph Francis Dupliex, the rival of this ill-used man, was son of a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the French East India Company; who had determined to rear his son to a commercial occupation; and, to prevent his mind from being engrossed by mathematics, engineering, and fortification, had sent him on board ship for several voyages to the Indies and America. He imbibed a taste for this occupation, and by his father's influence, was sent out in 1720 as first member of the council at Pondicherry by the French Company. His application and enterprise were uncommon, and crowned with success. He understood

the commerce of the country, and engaged in it for his own profit. From Pondicherry he was sent to Chandernagore, which so prospered under his administration, that more than 2,000 brick houses were built in it. He formed a new establishment for the Company at Patna, and rendered French commerce in Bengal the envy of all the other European colonists. He was then recalled to Pondicherry, and invested with the authority of governor and chief in command. For four years he had sustained this office when the generous Labourdonnais arrived in the Indian seas. Ambitious, active, and ingenious, he yielded often to the infirmities of jealousy and revenge; with excessive vanity, his mind possessed little elevation, but indulged in the effeminate luxuries of the East. If he could circumvent by chicanery and duplicity his opponents as well as his enemies, there was no trick too mean for his spirit, and no subterfuge too disingenuous for his purpose. Eastern policy was for him a congenial element, and native courts and princes fit companions for such a character. His stratagems and treacherous deceptions, his promises made to be broken, and treaties made to delude, were practised alike upon his allies and colleagues, upon British and Hindoo authorities. He scrupled at nothing, and had no hesitation to employ any, or every means to annihilate British power and consolidate French supremacy and dominion in India. He was fertile in expedients, and indefatigable in their application; he was energetic and daring in

his martial enterprises, and, rising with his difficulties, he acquired fresh confidence after every disaster. He never seems, in his active career, to have suffered despondency to overwhelm his mind. Accustomed to form schemes which from their magnitude appeared romantic, it was his practice to adhere to them with constancy: even when the defeats which he encountered in their execution seemed to counsel nothing but despair. His firmness of purpose was always sustained by the exhaustless inventions of his mind. It would be impossible in this brief sketch to follow the tortuous windings of his diplomacy with native chieftains, or his persevering efforts to reduce British power.

He repeatedly attacked Fort St. David and besieged Trichinopoly, defended himself against overwhelming forces in Pondicherry and in the Fort of Gingee, and gained many battles over the English and their allies. He obtained the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry from the nabob of Arcot, and was appointed governor of the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel, from the Kristna to Cape Comorin: embracing the whole Carnatic; and the nabob himself was nominated as his deputy. He was, however, at last superseded by a commissioner sent out from France, who resigned all the brilliant conquests made during Dupliex's administration, and Dupliex departed on his voyage to his native country on the 14th of October, 1754, after having spent thirty-four years in Asiatic regions. By his accounts delivered to

the commissioners, it appeared he had disbursed on behalf of the French Company near three millions of rupees more than had been received during the war: most of which was furnished out of his own estate; and the rest from monies borrowed at interest from the inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. These accounts were referred to the directors in France, who refused to pay any part of the balance due to him, because they asserted these expenses were incurred without sufficient authority. He therefore commenced a law-suit against the Company, but the proceedings were interrupted by the royal authority, and no discussion was ever entered into on the claims of Dupliex, or any measures taken to satisfy them; letters of protection against the prosecution of any of his creditors were the only *favour* granted to him. By all his bold adventures, as governor of Pondicherry, he added nothing to his personal possessions; but after twelve years' supremacy, he retired with a smaller fortune than he possessed when he entered upon the government. Mortification and chagrin hastened the end of this ambitious man. In India he had assumed the most lofty and haughty demeanour, invested himself with the ensigns and dress of a Mogul viceroy, and had often obliged the officers whom he admitted to audience to fall upon their knees before him. But in France, the position he occupied was that of a protected and unprincipled insolvent, a degraded adventurer, a dishonoured

partisan, and an unsuccessful candidate for power and renown: "*Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin.*"

Four years subsequent to Dupliex's disgrace, the stage was occupied by another equally ambitious, but less politic adventurer. Imbued with even stronger hatred to the English power, but less successful in his projects, more sanguine in his temperament, and more disastrous in his final ruin, the Count de Lally presents in his history an overcast and sombre portrait of a soldier of fortune. An immediate descendant of one of those Irish families who had expatriated themselves as adherents of James II., he had entered into the French army, and distinguished himself by his courage. At the battle of Fontenoy, he took prisoner, in personal conflict, several English officers, and received upon the field the rank of colonel at the hand of the king. His hatred to the English was expressed in his daring proposal that 10,000 men should be landed in England—while Prince Charles Edward was exciting his partisans in another part of the island—and now marked him out as a fit instrument, and led him to accept the appointment of commander-in-chief of the French forces in India, to annihilate the British powers on the Coromandel coast. His own regiment of Irish, 1,080 strong, 50 royal artillery, and many officers of distinction, sailed under his banner. His squadron of twelve sail arrived in the road of Fort St. David. With the siege of this fort his operations commenced, in accordance with his instructions,

the triumphant anticipations of the French court, and his own headstrong presumption. His operations were conducted with dispatch, but his celerity was not regulated by discretion. He landed at Pondicherry at five in the afternoon, and the same night 2,000 soldiers were by his orders on their march for the Fort St. David; but they started without provisions, with guides who led them astray, and were brought to the fort under the blaze of a morning sun, worn out with hunger and fatigue. The whole affair exhibits the character of his mind. He advanced to this undertaking without a knowledge of what were the English forces on the coast; whether Cuddalore, a neighbouring town, was surrounded by a wall or a rampart; or whether there was any river to pass on his way; or whether he could march along the shore without having to reduce intermediate places. His whole army marched without a day's provision, and many of them died of want. Thus naturally ardent and impetuous, with talents of great energy, he was vain and presumptuous, his knowledge being superficial and scanty. He counted not the cost; if he was satisfied with the end to be attained, he anticipated no difficulties, and experience imparted to him no wisdom as to the means which were required. The technical part of the military profession was familiar to him as a theory, but its practical application needed more patience than he possessed. The character and manners of the people among whom he had

to act, had not been appreciated by him; and his ideas of the mechanism of war closed his eyes to the fact that his success depended upon the management of intellectual and moral instruments. The consequence was, that he disgusted the natives by trampling upon their customs and prejudices, and forcibly confounding distinctions which they held sacred; while he vented his disappointment upon his countrymen in reproaches and complaints, uttered in most offensive terms, describing them universally as rogues, and attributing to them dishonesty and misconduct whenever he experienced delay or missed his objects. The natives would not trust themselves in his power; and the animosity of the French followed him in rancour and rage, so as to preclude all cordial cooperation, and occasion mismanagement and distrust in every concern.

Yet the new governor was not a man destitute of resources, and he had the *will* to employ them, controlling and superseding every obstruction and discouragement. He stormed and carried the defence of Fort St. David, which he razed to the ground, and he captured Devi-Cotah. His fleet encountered and paralyzed the British fleet: Nagore, a town accounted rich, and Kiveloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda in Tanjore, submitted to his arms. Lally ransacked and dug under the houses, dragged the tanks, and took away the idols, but he found no treasure—the idols were made of brass: he had hoped they were of gold. He attacked

and retreated from the capital of Tanjore, now aided by British troops. His next efforts were directed to the capture of Arcot, which with four secondary forts, surrendered to his arms; and as it was his resolution, after having taken Madras, to hasten to the banks of the Ganges, and thus destroy the British power in India, he summoned Bussy from the court of the soubahdar, and commenced the siege of Fort St. George. The Black Town submitted to his terms, but the fort was relieved by the arrival of a British fleet in the roads; when he decamped for Pondicherry: where his defeat was celebrated as a triumph by his countrymen. Though his own regiment mutinied, and his army was destitute of food and clothing, he repelled an attack of the English upon the fort of Wandewash, and then took possession of the rich island of Seringham upon the Cauvery. The English now assumed offensive operations, and advanced to the forts and territory acquired by the French. Lally withdrew his troops from Seringham, met a disastrous defeat at Wandewash, which his adversaries surprised and retained. Arcot and Chittapet surrendered to the same army. Gingee was weakened of its forces. Devi-Cotah was evacuated; Karikal, and all the minor forts, were taken; and Lally's difficulties ripened to extremity. Cuddalore, Chillambrum, and all other French possessions on the coast, were now reduced; Pondicherry alone remained, and it was invested by a British fleet and the conquering army. Lally

attempted by fruitless negotiation to enlist the ruler of Mysore in his ruined cause; but Hyder Ali was restrained by sagacity or fear; and the French were left to their doom. After a protracted siege under the able generalship of Colonel Coote, and after the besieged had made many skilful and daring efforts to destroy their enemies, the trenches of the attacking army were opened on the 12th of January, 1761. The French were reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick; worn out with vexation and fatigue, and disarmed of all authority by the raging discussions of his people. On the 14th he despatched a commissioner to treat about the surrender, and Pondicherry passed unconditionally into the hands of the British. Gingee and Thiagur made a feeble resistance, and on the 5th of April the French possessed not a single military post in the peninsula. Raynal sums up Lally's character in few but emphatic terms:—"This man, whose ungovernable temper could never adapt itself to circumstances, had received from nature none of those qualities that render a man fit for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; so that there was a perpetual contrast between his conversation and projects, and between his projects and his actions. Passionate, suspicious, jealous, and positive to excess, he created a universal diffidence and dejection, and excited animosities never to be suppressed. His military operations, his civil government, his poli-

tical combinations, all bore evident marks of the confusion of his ideas."

Dreadful was the award which awaited the vanquished Lally. The lesson should be profitable to those who delight in war and trust on princes. Public discontent, excited in France by the domestic disasters attending a pusillanimous and imbecile government, was blown into a flame when the total loss of their valuable acquisitions in India was reported. To dissipate its influence, or divert it from their own proceedings, the French ministry eagerly turned public attention to the conduct of their discomfited general. Many persons had returned from the wreck of their fortunes in India, burning with resentment, and heaping the bitterest accusations against Lally. The troops which had fought at Pondicherry, and all the Company's servants, had been sent to Europe, and thus multiplied his adversaries. The popular indignation, easily swayed by first appearances, was carefully cultivated against the man who had had the more immediate guidance of the affairs, now involved in ruin; and the cruel and disgraceful destruction of Lally was resolved upon, by a species of imposture and villany, to screen the ministry from the deserved odium and hatred of the people. Upon his arrival in France he was thrown into the Bastile; and, as if this were a prison too honourable for such an offender, he was removed from it to a common dungeon. An accusation of *treason* and extortion, founded on

vague and frivolous pretences, was brought against him. He had been destitute of wisdom and prudence, but he had displayed the greatest ardour in the service, the greatest disinterestedness, fidelity, and perseverance. Yet the parliament of Paris, a supple tool of ministerial perfidy, condemned him to an ignominious death for having betrayed the interests of the king, of the state, and of the India Company: they professed to have convicted him of vexatious exactions and abuse of authority. Raynal answers these charges thus:—"He made use of violent means to procure pecuniary aids, but this money was put into the public treasury. He injured and oppressed the citizens, but he never attempted any thing against their lives or against their honours. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caused no one to be executed on them: . . . he was neither guilty of public extortions nor treason." Confident in his innocence, Lally had anticipated only an honourable acquittal. When his sentence was read to him in his dungeon he was overwhelmed in an agony of surprise and indignation, and exclaiming, "Is this the reward of forty-five years' service?" he snatched a pair of compasses, with which he had been sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, and struck them that they might pierce his heart. His arm was held back, and his execution was precipitated on the same day. Dragged through the streets of Paris in a dirty dung cart, and his mouth stuffed with a gag so large as to project beyond his lips,

lest he should address the people, he became the victim of a judicial murder—he was beheaded: a sentence which has been described as "murder committed with the sword of justice."

M. de Bussy enters prominently on Indian scenes in 1750. Having signalized himself in several skirmishes between the native troops and the European adventurers, he left Pondicherry, January 1751, in command of a detachment of French soldiers—whom Dupliex had appointed as his spies,—as the guards or emissaries of Mirzapha Jung: or, *if possible,* of the princes who should succeed as soubahdars of the Deckan. Possessing great presence of mind and coolness, a clear judgment and patience in the pursuit of his object, he acquired a thorough knowledge of native character and ability to penetrate the folds and unravel the labyrinths of Hindoo cunning and perfidy. Having watched with great zeal for the service of his country and the extension of her ascendency, he became versed in all the duplicity, the windings and versatility of eastern courts and Brahminical policy. Though generally avoiding those acts of harshness, cruelty, and revenge, which have stained European reputation in their Indian enterprises, we can scarcely discover any personal affection and attachment on his part toward his native associates, or any reciprocal confidence, as if they had mutually combined for a common good. His familiarity with the manners of the princes and their mutual jealousies enabled him to overmatch and counteract

them for many years, and in many intricate and important transactions. He was never afraid of battle scenes, of the dangers of war, or the most harassing adventures, yet he prevailed more by the weight of character and moral influence than by carnage or oppression. Had he been a chief, as he was a subordinate, while Dupliex and Lally governed; or had they suffered him to act an independent part in the Northern Circars, and in the court of the soubahdar, Britain might not have so triumphed, the eastern power of France had not so soon passed away. An outline of his career would not be uninteresting to an English reader. He subdued the Patan chiefs in the camp of the soubahdar, and elected Salabat Jung as the successor of Mirzapha, in whose counsels he continued to exercise the greatest control. He secured for the son of Mirzapha Jung, the government of Adoni; and its territory was increased by the forfeited possessions of the rebel Patans. He vanquished a strong force of Mahrattas, and preserved Salabat upon his throne; and in 1753, he obtained for his country the four important provinces of Mustaphanagar, Ellore, Rajemundry and Chicacole, called the *Northern Circars*. He conducted his master, Salabat, into Mysore, in 1755, and exacted from their chief large arrears of tribute, and an acknowledgment of the soubahdar's authority. In the following year, he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the same prince, and dictated his own terms. At the close of the

contest, he visited the Northern Circars, and adjusted their government, so as to secure the payment of their revenue. With 500 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, he subdued the Polygar of Bobilee, contemplated a junction with Suraja Dowla to expel the English from Bengal, and captured Vizagapatam, an English fortress, making all the Europeans, civil and military, prisoners, and the Company's effects the prize of war. On an emergency which threatened the French influence, he retraced his distance, but by a road never before travelled by Europeans, a space of 400 miles in twenty-one days; and when he reached Aurungabad, he kept in check four separate armies, till his purposes were accomplished. By a sum of money, he gained admittance to Dowlatabad, a fortress held by his mortal foe; and that without the loss of a man, though his troops entered with him into the fort, and the governor of the fort was himself made Bussy's prisoner, while his accomplice in hostility to the French was obliged to succumb. Thus was Bussy placed in uncontrolled power over the government of the wide extended Deckan. From this proud eminence was he recalled by Lally.

Occupying an elevated station among the princes of India, the support and shield of the tottering throne of the soubahdar, it is not surprising if he should attempt by the strongest representations to prevail with his superior to restore him to his station, where he had left the prince in an agony of grief and despair for his departure. He joined

Lally at Arcot, and was treated by this presumptuous man as a madman, whose representations should be regarded as the visions of delusion, or the fruit of imposture. It was a rare merit with Bussy, that personally he was yet a poor man; and it was an honourable testimony to his merit, that six *colonels* and a major-general, all his superiors in rank, men of ancient and noble descent, signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them in command. The place assigned him was commander of the cavalry. His counsels were rejected, his plans opposed, and his experience in the country rendered fruitless. The battle of Wandewash was fought contrary to his advice; the French were worsted; Bussy himself had his horse killed; attempting to lead on a regiment, was abandoned by his troops, and taken prisoner. Thus went down the sun of Bussy's glory; he held only a subordinate part in the remaining struggles of French existence. In the year 1783, he landed from the French fleet of Suffrien at Cuddalore, with a reinforcement of French troops, to enter into the wars of Tippoo Sultaun, when his vigour was again ready to be displayed. He had thrown up works of defence, and repulsed the English, who made an attack upon the place, when 1,000 British troops fell, either dead or mortally wounded. This was thirty-three years after he had joined Mirzapha Jung: no wonder, then, that the historian should have to record, "the spirit of Bussy was chilled by age and infirmities; and he

restrained the impetuosity of his officers, who confidently predicted the destruction of the British army." The English had lain upon their arms during the night in expectation of an attack, which the troops, fatigued and unprotected, would have found it difficult to sustain. Bussy and the French admiral were concerting vigorous operations, and prepared for making a grand effort on the 4th of July. The English were so reduced by the sword, sickness, and fatigue, that fatal consequences were feared and probable. Their army and fleet presented a dismal prospect to the alarmed authorities; and the sun of prosperity was again ready to cheer Bussy's path, as he imagined, when intelligence was received of the signature in Europe of a treaty of peace between the English and French. A flag of truce, a cessation of arms, and the withdrawal of French troops from Tippoo's service, immediately followed. Bussy's end was not like that of any of the other three; yet what has been his reward, or what were the benefits, lasting and extensive, which as a soldier-adventurer he conferred upon India? There are none who will bless the memory of his name as a benefactor to the people, or as a servant of the living and true God.

John Law was the eldest son of an Edinburgh goldsmith, and amidst the most singular gambling propensities, exhibited rare talents for financial and political economy. Though the *Abbé* Raynal designates him "one of those projectors or state

empirics who are constantly roaming about the courts of Europe, displaying their talents, and hurried on by a restless disposition;" we apprehend we should do no discredit to him, or the gentleman to whom we would compare him, were we to represent him as the *first* edition of Dr. Bowring. He was a deep calculator, and endowed with a most lively and ardent imagination. He was permitted to establish the general bank of "Law and Company" at Paris, in 1716; and was appointed director-general of the same establishment, when constituted the *Royal Bank of France.* His scheme for the "Company of the West," which obtained *éclat* as the "Mississippi Scheme," at first succeeded, and he was named *director-general:* after varied modifications, it assumed the title of the "Company of the Indies," including the East as well as the West; and on the 5th of January, 1720, Mr. Law was appointed *comptroller-general* of the finances, and held the high station of prime-minister of France. After having acquired immense property, estates and titles, his power and possessions passed away as a dream, his *scheme* burst like an airy bubble, and his chequered career was closed at Venice on the 21st of March, 1729; when he died in a state but little removed from indigence. We are told that, when his whole property was confiscated, his brother William was sent to the Bastile. Twenty years after Law's death, the Chevalier Law appeared before Trichinopoly as one of the French officers in command, besieging

that fort, and leading his troops to the occupation of Seringham. It is probable, that though publicly dishonoured and ruined, either from personal regard or influence, some of his kindred enjoyed a kind of heirloom connexion with the French East India Company. For, besides this Chevalier Law, we found as governor of a French settlement, on the Malabar coast, nearly a century after the baron Law's disgrace, a Monsieur Law, who traced his pedigree to the projector, and claimed association and intercourse with the regal families of Europe. The *Chevalier* Law was inspired by the example of Bussy, but seems not to have possessed the same talent, as he did not attain to the same success in eastern enterprise with his gifted model. Law was in immediate subjection to Dupliex, and was required to perform the purposes of his superior, rather than accomplish his own plans. He was driven by the British from Trichinopoly and the head-quarters of Chundah Saheb; and in Seringham Pagoda, was obliged to surrender himself and his associates prisoners of war. After an exchange of prisoners and subsequent arrangements we find Law at the head of the factory in Cossimbuzar, in cooperation with the nabob of Bengal; and, as a partisan in the contest, proceeding to Bahar, furnished with money, arms, and ammunition, by Surajah Dowla. Law had here traced a conspiracy for the destruction of Surajah, but he had neither power to prevent, or influence with the nabob to guard him against it. The native prince, therefore,

dismissed Mr. Law, telling him "that if there should happen any thing new, he would send for him again."—"Send for me again! be assured, my lord nabob," exclaimed Law, "that this is the last time we shall see each other; remember my words—we shall never meet again; it is nearly impossible." When this nabob was removed by British policy, and Meer Jaffier was raised to his place, Law attached himself to the service of the soubahdar of Oude, and cooperated with the Mahratta horse, employed in collecting the arrears of Choute. The Mahrattas were defeated and obliged to fly, and the Chevalier Law betook himself and his band of French adventurers to Chitterpore, on the borders of the Mahratta country, waiting for service or plunder. The emperor of Delhi invited him, in 1760, to make an incursion upon Bahar, and on his way he passed Patna; but ignorant of its defenceless condition, he failed to profit by his advantage —so would not Bussy have done, in the like condition. Law returned to assail this wealthy city; the emperor was eager to besiege and take it; and twice did the French and their confederates attempt the assault: they demolished part of the wall, and scaled the rampart; and, though compelled to retire, they prepared for a new assault on the following night, when they were unexpectedly attacked by a dashing soldier, Captain Knox, who surprised them when asleep, drove them from the works, and made them raise the siege. This active officer, who had brought relief to Patna, had conducted his

forces nearly 300 miles in thirteen days, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, himself marching on foot in company with his men; immediately encountered the army with which Law was cooperating; and, though it consisted of 12,000 men, well appointed and prepared, with 30 pieces of cannon, and his army only numbered one battalion of sepoys, 200 Europeans, and 300 horse, with five field pieces, he repulsed them at every point, and compelled them to quit the field. Chevalier Law, though he made mercenary war his trade, and was brave as a soldier, yet he gained few laurels of victory, and often met discomfiture and disappointment.

Bahar was, however, severely harassed and impoverished by the repeated incursions of the confederates, and the English and their allies were prevented from reaping the harvest of their power, or the benefits of their conquests, so long as such predatory adventurers hung upon their territory: they therefore made a decided effort to subdue the emperor, who employed Law. A battle was fought at Gyah Maunpore, between Major Carnac and the Delhi monarch: the victory was complete, and the Chevalier Law was taken prisoner. The following is the graphic description from the pen of a Hindoo noble, who witnessed the closing scene of Law's martial career. "When the emperor left the field of battle, the handful of troops that followed M. Law, discouraged by this flight, and tired of the wandering life which they had hitherto led in this service, turned about likewise, and followed the

emperor. M. Law, finding himself abandoned and alone, resolved not to turn his back; he bestrode one of his guns, and remained firm in that posture, waiting for the moment of his death. This being reported to Major Carnac, he detached himself from his main, with Captain Knox and some other officers, and advanced to the man on the gun, without taking with him either a guard or any sepoys at all. Being arrived near, this troop alighted from their horses, and pulling their caps from their heads, they swept the air with them, as if to make him a *salaam;* and this salute being returned by M. Law in the same manner, some parley in their language ensued. The Major, after paying high encomiums to M. Law for his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, added these words, 'You have done every thing which could be expected from a brave man; and your name shall be undoubtedly transmitted to posterity by the pen of history: now loosen your sword from your loins, come amongst us, and abandon all thoughts of contending with the English.' The other answered, 'that if they would accept of his surrendering himself just as he was, he had no objection; but that as to surrendering himself with the disgrace of being without his sword, it was a shame he would never submit to; and that they might take his life if they were not satisfied with that condition.' The English commanders, admiring his firmness, consented to his surrendering himself in the manner he wished; after which the

major with his officers shook hands with him, in their European manner, and every sentiment of enmity was instantly dismissed on both sides. At the same time the major sent for his own palanquin, made him sit in it, and he was sent to the camp. M. Law, unwilling to see or to be seen, shut up the curtains of his palanquin for fear of being recognised by any of his friends at camp; but yet some of his acquaintances, hearing of his being arrived, went to him. The major, who had excused him from appearing in public, informed them that they could not see him for some days, as he was too much vexed to receive any company." The writer recites how a Mohammedan, Ahmed Khan, had attempted to wound the sensitive honour of M. Law, and how the British protected him from insult, as they declared their "nation had it for a standing rule never to offer an injury to a vanquished foe." The pleasure which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced by such generosity, "lead the bulk of mankind," it has been forcibly remarked by the historian Mill, "to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependence which mark the insect on which you tread; a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made the insect. When that is done, it is a slight, if any, addition to your misfortunes, to be

crushed at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be to restrain *in time* the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating, with a *sort of pity*, after we have made it."

The following description will serve as a key both to the terms in frequent use by writers on Indian affairs, and the causes of ramified and extended hostility throughout the Deckan, while British power was extending. In the great soubahs, or *provincial* divisions of the Mogul empire, there were primary subdivisions more extensive than the Zemindaree and Fouzdaree districts. This was particularly the case in the Deckan. The titles which designated the governors of these provinces were the soubahdar, or viceroy, as the governor of the soubah; the nabob, or deputy of the viceroy, who governed one of the greater subdivisions, as of the Carnatic; and under them were the zemindars and fouzdars, the collectors of the rents, and protectors of the cultivators, and the magistrates of police. During the vigour of the Mogul government, the nabobs were not always nominated by the soubahdar, though subject to him. Their nomination was more frequently by the emperor, and designed often as a check upon the dangerous exercise of the extensive power of the soubahdar. The rajahs were princes of Hindoo origin, included within the soubah, whom the Mogul left with their primitive titles, which signified king or chieftain,

but required them to farm the revenue, and render all other services as his dependents and tributaries. Nizam-ul-Mulk had been soubahdar of the Deckan, and An'war-ad-Dien was the nabob of the Carnatic, when the French and English armies contended for Madras. Chundah Saheb was member of a family which had held the nabobship before An'war-ad-Dien: the latter was disliked in the province, but the family of his predecessor was popular. The French espoused the cause of Chundah Saheb, who by treachery had obtained the command of Trichinopoly, and afterwards was held a prisoner by the Mahrattas; and strove to elevate him to the place of the nabob of the Carnatic. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, and was succeeded by three relatives, raised through the French influence, who were each removed by a violent death. A contest was maintained by the parties for the appointment of soubahdar during many succeeding years; but the representative of the viceroy in the Deckan is now the nizam of Hyderabad. Into the well of oriental policy, and the accidents of war, we shall not enter. An'war-ad-Dien was slain in battle at 107 years old. Dost Ali and Mahomed Ali followed as successors. Omdut-ul-Omrah reigned after his father, Mahomed Ali, only six years; his grandson was appointed by the English nominal nabob in his stead; and his representative is now a state pensioner at Madras. Chundah Saheb was destroyed by cruelty; and the French and English continued to use, as their puppets, the several

aspirants to the office, who promised most liberally to aid their cause, or seemed, in the judgment of their leaders, most able to forward their objects. And the rajahs of Tanjore, Mysore, or Travancore, were involved in the same partisan and subordinate strife, in such a manner as cannot be detailed within our limits. The British prevailed, and every native prince or functionary which was drawn into the warfare was ruined, slain, or kept as a state prisoner. From the Mogul to the humblest polygar—from the emperor to the village potail—all have suffered reverse, or been swept away. The powerful struggles of Hyder Ali, and his brave son, Tippoo Saib, or Sultaun, deserve more special notice.

The career of Hyder Ali was eventful and adventurous. His success was equal to the highest ambition, as a usurper and a trader in war. The British encountered no such antagonist to their conquest or supremacy in their Indian enterprises. His ancestors had journeyed from their native country, the Punjab, in the north-west of India. The grandfather of Futtee Mahomed had practised as a faquir, the religious functions of a Mohammedan teacher, and acquired property at Calburga, about 110 miles to the north-west of Hyderabad. Futtee's father, Mahomed Ali, travelled southward, and obtained the situation of an armed collector of revenue at Serah, on the north of Bangalore, and died at Colar, where his grandson, Hyder, erected for him a mausoleum. Futtee was then driven an exile from his birth-place by the unkindness of

an uncle, and obtained employment as a common foot soldier. He was rewarded with promotion for his services; was made a *naik* of peons, or petty officer; and then the fouzdar of a district. The nabob who had retained and distinguished him was dethroned and plundered, and Futtee lost his life in his defence. Hyder Ali was his younger, and Shabas his elder son, who survived him. Shabas found, by the recommendation of a maternal uncle, the opportunity of speedily acquiring distinction, and a military command of 200 horse and 1,000 peons in the service of the rajah of Mysore. Hyder Ali was idle, dissipated, and addicted to the pleasures of jungle hunting, till he was twenty-seven years of age. He had never learned to write or read, but possessed a tenacious memory, and was expert at arithmetical calculations, without book. He joined the Mysore army as a volunteer in 1749 in an attack upon Deonhully, a polygar's castle twenty-four miles from Bangalore. His mental resources, courage, and ardour, commended him to the general Nunjeraj; who raised him, at the close of the siege, to the command of 50 horse and 200 peons, and entrusted to him one of the gates of the fortress. He was next chosen to defend Dindegul; where he employed a body of armed banditti, who should engage in depredation as their trade. Cattle, sheep, clothes, turbans, and earrings, from friends or foes, men, women, or children, travellers or villagers; and convoys of grain, were alike the prey of this gang and their master.

By such means he furnished his petty exchequer, and was able to lead forth 3,000 regular infantry, 1,500 horse, 2,000 peons, and four guns, when employed against the French at Trichinopoly; and he proceeded to the province, subjected to his government, at the head of nearly 10,000 well armed troops. This enabled him to practise force and fraud with equal success. Deception, and the distracted state of the country, gave him opportunity for rising successively through the higher gradations of power: and the fort and district of Bangalore were bestowed on him in personal jaghire. Treachery and massacre were weapons which he scrupled not to employ: he murdered Herri Sing merely because he was a rival among the Mysore chiefs. He subdued the Mahratta invasion, and was raised to the rank of commander-in-chief; and successfully plotted to set aside the man who had been his benefactor, and, as minister of the rajah, was the only barrier between him and supreme power. Nunjeraj retired upon a provision for himself; and Hyder procured as his own portion the assignment of the revenues of more than half the territory of the state, which he held in his immediate possession. He now became the confederate of the French, and by an unlooked-for incident escaped destruction from a large Mahratta army.

The queen mother of the Mysore rajah saw the thraldom of her son, and had resolved to destroy the rising usurper. The struggle was desperate, and but for a mean and yet daringly hypocritical

stratagem, Hyder must have perished. Unexpected, unarmed, and alone, he prostrated himself at the feet of Nunjeraj, the minister whom he had supplanted and disgraced; bewailed, in terms of bitter anguish, the wrongs which he had perpetrated against his first, his greatest friend; vowed to devote his future life to their reparation, and all the power he should ever possess to establish Nunjeraj in the station of honour and power he had formerly occupied. The ex-minister was beguiled; Hyder was delivered; and then by fraud and forgery, and the appearance of conspiracy, he intimidated his dupe, who fled and left the field undivided to Hyder's ambition. A message of haughty insolence delivered to the rajah was the prelude to an arrangement, by which some thirty or forty thousand rupees were to be assigned for the personal expenses of that prince and his minister: and the management of the whole country was taken by Hyder, with the charge of providing for all the expenses, civil and military. From that period he was the undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore. Hyder Ali was formally invested with the nabobship of Serah, where his grandfather had been a revenue *peon;* and having assumed the title Hyder Ali Khan Behauder, he reduced the country to his obedience. He added to his acquisitions the Balipores, Ghooty, and the country of Bednore; and rendered his tributaries the nabob of Sevanoor and the polygars of Chittledroog, Raidroog, and Harponelly. He took Soonda, and sacked the capital of Bednore, where his booty

was estimated at 12,000,000*l.* sterling. He repeatedly assailed Madras, and dictated his own terms to the governor and council while he lay within ten miles of Fort St. George. He took the fort of Mulwaggle; he plundered and laid waste the provinces of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, and acted in concert with the French authorities at Pondicherry. In one of his campaigns into the Carnatic he commanded an army of 100,000, of which 30,000 were cavalry, and 20,000 regular battalions of infantry, officered by Europeans, and 100 pieces of cannon managed under the direction of European artillerymen. He stormed Arcot, destroyed Colonel Baillie's gallant little army, and took the officers prisoners; who suffered a captivity under his merciless cruelty, more terrible than death. He threatened by his successes to involve the British interests in the Carnatic in utter ruin: so that the Company's servants were fain to sue for peace. Tanjore, and their possessions on the Malabar coast, were overrun or occupied by Hyder's generals and forces, while his sons were as busy in the field as was their father; who, having raised himself to be the sovereign of a great empire, was enabled peacefully to bequeath his dominions and power to his son. Hyder Ali died at Chittore of the Carnatic in the beginning of December, 1782, more than eighty years of age. This event was said to cheer the gloom which darkened the prospects of the English in Hindostan.

The name of Tippoo Sultaun, as of his father

Hyder Ali, is always associated in the representations of the Company's historians, and the partisans of the government, with the most odious epithets. The vices which would disgrace any hideous monster, the tyrannic and ferocious cruelties of the brutal barbarian, the treachery and malignity of some truce-breaking usurpers, are all ascribed to the son of Hyder, in such measure as if language could not furnish terms of obloquy expressive enough to paint the wickedness of the man. Yet there must have been something good in the mode, and beneficial in the operation of his government; for his country was, even in the judgment of his enemies, "well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, and presented cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and every thing flourishing, so as to indicate happiness." The prosperity of Mysore, under both father and son, though its energies had previously been distracted and dissipated by misgovernment, was equal to that of any part of India. The fidelity with which Tippoo's people adhered to him under the most trying reverses, would have done honour to the wisest and most beneficent prince. In all his campaigns, no instance of treachery occurred among his commanders, and the discipline of his troops in the field was implicit, while murmurings and complaints were not heard among his subjects. His despotism is said to have been the rule of a politic and able sovereign, who nourishes, not oppresses, the inhabitants of the land. His revenues from

one of the richest provinces of the peninsula, in extent equal to Great Britain, did not exceed two millions and a half. No doubt he had the finesse and weakness of most oriental princes. The inflated vanity and exaggerating extravagance common to eastern pride, induced him to boast of his resources, and to talk big of his power, his vengeance, and the effects of his displeasure; but with all his vapouring weakness, he maintained himself on the throne for sixteen years, though opposed by the allied operations of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the British. The British found it requisite to bring into action, before they could count upon success against Tippoo, an army "more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, than any that had ever taken the field in India." Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, supplied their contingent to the last man which could be spared; and one governor-general after another took the field against him, to the imminent hazard of the armies of both. What a mass of talent the petty prince of a petty country must have been supposed to possess!

Tippoo had established his military reputation while his father was yet alive; had not alienated himself from the confidence or excited the suspicion of Hyder, as his ruler and predecessor; and was employed on a distant expedition when the death of his adventurous parent occurred. To the

address and fidelity of the leading officers he owed it that the fatal event of Hyder's death was concealed till Tippoo could hasten from the south-west boundary of the Mysore dominions, and arrive in the neighbourhood of Chittore. The immediate payment of the arrears of his troops, and a few popular regulations, followed;—and Tippoo was firmly seated on his father's throne. The first proof he gave of his energy in defence of his dominions was to revenge the depredations of a Colonel Matthews at Mangalore, Bednore, and other contiguous forts. Tippoo suddenly appeared in April, 1793, recaptured Bednore, and forced the greater part of the British army to capitulate, and become his prisoners in his dreariest fortresses. He then besieged the fortified town of Mangalore with vigour and perseverance. The protracted sufferings and harassing services of the English troops, endured under Tippoo's policy and resolution at Mangalore and several neighbouring forts, made the Company glad to sue for peace on any terms. His signature to a treaty of mutual restitution of conquests, was, after much perseverance and almost abject humiliation, obtained by British commissioners in March, 1784.

He threw the greatest alarm into the councils of the presidencies by his negotiations with the French and his presumed cooperation with Napoleon Buonaparte. He engaged in his service the most warlike partisans of that nation in India,—invited others from the Isle of France,—and pre-

pared an embassy to be sent to the Executive Directory in Paris, to secure a cordial union between revolutionary France and the kingdom of Mysore. He is represented as having so far conformed to the predilections of these allies, as to have himself designated the "citizen Tippoo," and to have planted the "tree of liberty" in his own capital. A wiser precaution was adopted by him in soliciting the alliance of Persia, Turkey, and Caubul, against the British; and in attempting to alienate from them the Mahrattas and the soubahdar of the Deckan. He overran the country of their confederate the king of Travancore; broke through his lines of defence; seized the territory; and taking possession of his fortresses, spread desolation in the most fruitful provinces. He encountered the most experienced English officers, and took such precautions as left the British army without provision; he compelled them to retreat from their advanced positions, and abandon their most valuable depôts and strongest fortresses; and by a successful manœuvre, distracted their attention, till he invaded the Carnatic, threatened Trichinopoly, and took the island of Seringham. The reverses of war, however, came upon himself. He had a small revenue; he does not appear to have sought its increase by impoverishing his subjects, and keeping up a large standing army. His country was attacked from many points. He was called to the protection of its capital. He withstood, for a time, the assault on Bangalore, and

retreated upon Scringapatam; where he was followed by Lord Cornwallis, and assailed by tens of thousands of Mahrattas, and 15,000 well-mounted cavalry of the Nizam. The British army, however, from unwholesome food, from scarcity, fatigue, and exposure, from disease and the horrors of an ill-conducted and unsuccessful campaign, could not, at the extreme line of their operations, attempt a single measure of attack. They were forced to destroy their battering train and heavy equipments, and strive by retreat to save themselves from destruction. Their attack was, however, more successful in a renewed effort. The forts of Mysore, peculiar for their inaccessible strength, yielded to the perseverance and military superiority of British tactics. Nundedroog and Savendroog, Kistnagherry and Ootradroog, were stormed and taken; and an immense force, with battering guns, tumbrels, heavy carriages, field-pieces, battering trains, infantry and cavalry, moved on to Seringapatam. Tippoo awaited them in a fortified camp under the walls of the citadel; and after a protracted and sanguinary assault upon the Mysore lines, which gave way, the invading generals accepted terms, negotiations, and hostages, and withdrew from Seringapatam. Two of the hostages were sons of the sultaun. Their reception is thus described:—

Lord Cornwallis, attended by the principal officers of the army and his staff, received them as they dismounted from their elephants, at the door of his great tent; embraced them, led them in by the

hand, and seated one on each side of himself; when the head vakeel (commissioner) thus addressed his lordship: "These children were this morning the sons of the sultaun, my master; they now must look up to your lordship as a father." With earnestness, he assured the vakeels and the princes that they should not feel the loss of a father's care. The children's faces brightened up, and every spectator was moved. His lordship presented each of the boys with a gold watch, much to their delight. They had been taught to imitate the reserve and politeness of age, as is common in the East: the propriety of their deportment astonished the witnesses of it. Lord Cornwallis paid them a visit next day at their tents; and when they came out to receive him, he embraced them, and conducted them, one in each hand, into the tent. They now spoke with animation and gracefulness; and each of them presented Lord Cornwallis with a fine Persian sword, which he acknowledged by a present of elegant fire-arms. The state, order, and magnificence displayed about them were much superior to what was seen among other Hindoo princes; their guard of sepoys were clothed in uniform, regularly and well-armed, disciplined, and in high order. The attention paid to the young prisoners gratified their fond father, and to announce his satisfaction with it, a royal salute was fired from the fort ramparts. The treaty despoiled Tippoo of more than half his dominions, and left him exasperated and revengeful, though enfeebled and impoverished, in 1792.

New pretexts were found for encroachments in 1798. Lord Wellesley conducted the war against him then, and crowned it with a fatal and overwhelming triumph. The French alliance was the alleged motive for hostility. Seringapatam was again besieged and stormed; and amidst fearful carnage, and what in military phrase is called great bravery, the fortress was taken, and Tippoo slain fighting in its defence. Previous to the assault, the sultaun had attempted, by letters and military movements, to turn aside or arrest the progress of his adversaries. He was disappointed; and having summoned the whole of his principal officers, "we have arrived at our last stage," said he; "what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. Having taken their determination to find either victory or death, the sultaun and his friends took a most affecting leave, as if for the last time in this world, and all were bathed in tears. A fortnight after this, a fact was discovered which might have led to his deliverance had he known it. The provision for the English army in a hostile country was ascertained to be so diminished, that eighteen days' supply, at half allowance for fighting men, was all that remained in the camp. This forced on the active operations of the English; and on the 4th of May, 1799, Seringapatam was taken by assault. The martial gallantry of the British forces was great; their enterprise, courage, and success, were complete. Generals Harris and Baird were the chief in com-

mand. Baird and Dunlop were in the thickest of the fight. The sultaun was generally on the ramparts; but was often misled in council by flatterers and inexperienced courtiers. He was a devout Mohammedan, and observant of the forms of superstition: on the day of assault, he was busied with religious rites and astrological operations. While engaged in taking his midday repast, he heard of the loss of a wise and faithful general, Seyed Goffhar; and before he could recover from the shock, he was told that the assault was begun. He hurried along the rampart to the breach. The sultaun continued to defend his fortress, on foot, during the greater part of the time, engaged rather as a common soldier than a general, firing carbines, carried by his servants for his use. When abandoned by his men, he sought no escape, but hastened to defend the gates into the interior fort; crossing from the outer rampart, he received a musket-ball in the right side, near the breast, but still pressed on to the gate. British soldiers were pouring in to this place, when he arrived, a destructive fire, from which he received another wound; his horse being also wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground. When his attendants placed him in his palanquin, they could not remove him, the dead and dying having now choked up the passage. An English soldier attempted to pull off his sword-belt, but Tippoo made a cut at him with his sword, which was still in his hand, and wounded the soldier on the knee;

the soldier fired, and the sultaun receiving the ball in his temple, instantly expired. After search had been made among a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies, wounded and dead, the palanquin was found, and *under* it a person lying wounded, who was ascertained to be the rajah Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, and his faithful attendant during the whole of the fatal day. He pointed out the spot where the sultaun had fallen. The body was recognised; it was yet warm, the eyes open, the features not distorted, and some doubted for a moment whether it was not alive. It had four wounds; three in the trunk and the one in the temple, the ball having entered a little above the right ear, and lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, his girdle crimson coloured, tied round his waist; and a handsome pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm, but there remained no jewels about his body: his turban had fallen off. The body thus recognised was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace. The story of his children may close this tragic tale.

The two who had been received as hostages in 1791, were restored to their father in March 1794, and were not the less endeared to their family by their exile. This family, now bereaved of their father and friend, were in the palace when the city was stormed. A Major Allan was com-

missioned to secure and protect them from the unlicensed fury of the soldiers. The princes answered his repeated messages, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured: in a few minutes he was introduced, and found two of the princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants. The same officer had witnessed the former scene of their humiliation when delivered up as hostages to Lord Cornwallis; the present sad reverses and their ill-suppressed alarms of what now awaited them, excited his commiseration, and he acted toward them with great tenderness. He succeeded by assurances of evident sincerity and friendship, in allaying their apprehension, and in procuring their consent to the opening of the palace gates. Their confidence being gained, he persuaded them to quit the palace, and go under his escort to the quarters of the general who had stormed their city. General Baird had suffered all the horrors of three years' imprisonment in the place where he now stood victor, and their father had been the author of it. Baird had just heard a rumour, too, that Tippoo had ordered the murder of all the European prisoners; yet he was, Major Allan assures us, "sensibly affected by the sight of the princes. His gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation which he on this occasion displayed. He received the princes with every mark of regard; repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them; and he gave them in

charge to two officers to conduct them to head-quarters in the camp." They were escorted by the light company of a European regiment, and the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presented arms as they passed. It was afterwards arranged, that the fortress of Vellore in the Carnatic should be the residence of the survivors of this family: it was fitted up commodiously for their reception, and an allowance granted for their support more liberal than had been provided by Tippoo himself. The principal adherents of the house were pensioned, by jaghires or tracts of country, conformably to their past rank and influence, with a generous profusion which greatly astonished themselves. The mutiny at Vellore, which occurred ten years subsequent to the fall of Seringapatam, and which excited serious apprehensions of the allegiance of sepoy troops in the peninsula, was ascribed to the machinations of some of Tippoo's followers or his sons. The government, therefore, transferred their place of restraint to the Bengal presidency; where, for many years, the lingering branches of this family have resided in comparative ease and obscurity. Royal pensioners, they have been humbled as the children of a warrior, and disappointed as the heirs to a throne, but they have escaped many reverses. The surviving son of Tippoo has recently visited England to transact some business with the government; and, if he can, to recover some large arrears of his pension from the Company.

It would be no difficult task to fill a volume of military enterprises from the achievements of English officers in India; nor might the work be uninteresting or profitless. It would, however, interfere with the present design. The chief captains and mighty men who have gained celebrity in oriental conquest have had their chroniclers, or have for themselves recorded their triumphs. Lord Clive's eventful career, which he began as a volunteer, in a crisis of the greatest peril, and by which he rose through every gradation, till he took rank as commander-in-chief, as a British nobleman, and as governor-general of India, gave the first and greatest *éclat* to the Company's service. Major Laurence was not so celebrated; but he fulfilled a perilous commission in the defence of Trichinopoly: he was a clear-headed soldier and an honourable man, and it was his last service, as the "veteran Laurence," to head the troops in the defence of Madras against the unsuccessful assault of Lally. Sir Eyre Coote led the English arms against Pondicherry, which he took, and followed by the reduction of French power in the peninsula; and though chequered with occasional reverses, and chargeable with fickleness and self-sufficiency, and perhaps more fit to be a general than a commander-in-chief, he possessed virtues which inspired affection, and commanded respect, with extensive military reputation. He was not always successful against Hyder, and was outwitted by Tippoo; and, attacked in an enfeebled and irritable

state of mind, by a third stroke of apoplexy, he died three days after he landed at Madras, appointed a second time to be commander-in-chief. Sir Hector Munro entered on eastern warfare by a desperate suppression of mutiny among the native troops at Patna, blowing the ringleaders from their guns; and then broke completely the force of Suja Dowla. As commander-in-chief of the Madras army, he destroyed Pondicherry; and being superseded by General Coote, and having quarrelled with a General Stuart, he refused to act in a perilous engagement. When all prospect of success was abandoned, he swore that he never had *retreated* in his life, but agreed that his army should *fall back!* A compromise, rather than a reconciliation, brought Sir Hector into active service, and there was rich booty in the spoils of the war. He commanded when the Dutch settlements in the peninsula fell into the hands of the English, their whole warlike stores, and two years' investment of their commerce. Not many British officers within a period so limited, seem to have merited distinction equal to Colonel Baillie for gallantry, generalship, and suffering in his march from Guntoor, his conflict with Tippoo, his stand against Hyder; Baillie in the command of a detachment of a few hundreds, and Hyder with an army of many thousands; and in his subsequent capture and captivity under the ruthless grasp of the Mysore despot. Few generals have passed over the plains of India with such unstained laurels as did Meadows; who, from the

office of chief in command at Bombay, succeeded as governor in Madras, and who, with as much grace, resigned his supremacy to his superior when Lord Cornwallis assumed the command in chief against Tippoo. He shared every danger with the men; was as zealous when called to obey as when empowered to command; seemed to possess as much presence of mind in the heat of action as at the council table; and was as willing to resign his share of prize-money to the privates as to cooperate in the most dangerous attacks with Lord Cornwallis. General Lake has no equal in Asiatic warfare. Not so brilliant as Clive, or so *fortunate* as Wellesley, his victories were complete, and his progress was sure. He was both a general and a soldier. The emperor of Delhi entitled him "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." Lord Wellesley lauds the "indefatigable activity, zeal, ability, and energy of General Lake, whose personal exertions have surpassed all former example." At the battle of Laswarree he led the charge of the cavalry in the morning, and, at the head of the 76th regiment, conducted in person every operation of the day. Two horses were shot under him; and his son, a young officer acting as his aide-de-camp, was wounded by his side, in circumstances peculiarly fitted to affect the father. The son had but just persuaded the father to mount his horse, after one of his own had fallen under him, pierced by several shot, when he was himself struck with a ball, and at

that instant the father was obliged to lead on the troops, leaving his wounded son upon the field. His victories and fidelity were honoured by a peerage; and his name is remembered in India as a talisman against Britain's enemies, and a banner for her armies. Baird and Harris were associated at Seringapatam. Sir David Baird was a captive in the dungeons of that fortress, and obtained as a favour that he should lead the storming party who carried the citadel by assault; his courage and generosity were eminently characteristic of the man, and found fields for action in other lands than the East. The Hon. Arthur Wellesley was also, by the influence of his brother, the governor-general, placed in situations of trust and influence. His own enterprising, energetic, and decided temper, gave augury of his future triumphs. He was attached to the army at Seringapatam, in command of the 33d regiment; and when Tippoo's cushoons began to give way before his infantry, Colonel Floyd charged and pursued them with the cavalry. Wellesley was one of a party ordered to attack an advanced post of the sultaun's, in which he failed, not without loss. He attended the dead body of Tippoo; and almost thought the sultaun was yet alive. His succeeding adventures were more auspicious. At Poona, Assye, Ahmednuggur, Argaum, Gawilghur, he was daring and triumphant; defeating Scindia and Holkar. In India the duke of Wellington had opportunities and facilities for distinguishing himself, and he made the best use of

his means to gain a name and establish a reputation. Dhoondia, Holkar, and the Mahratta Jaghirdars, were his first antagonists, and with them he schooled himself for more skilful warfare and deeper diplomatic artifices; and after having escaped many dangers, he returned to Europe, prepared to take a prominent and active place in the sanguinary strife then raging between England and the nations of the continent.

The distinguished men who have sustained the chief authority as British governors in India, since the acquisition of sovereign power by the Company, deserve more than we can afford here—a passing remark on the character of their several administrations. Lord Clive was a military dictator; sought British dominion; trampled on or set aside at pleasure native rulers; defied all restrictions on the means of accumulating personal wealth; and disregarded despatches or orders from home, except as they squared with his own conceptions of utility or aggrandizement. Warren Hastings was the first governor-general according to act of parliament; he had risen through all the gradations of the Company's foreign service, and was appointed the oriental viceroy in 1772. His impeachment in parliament, and trial in Westminster-hall, which lasted during more than eight years, have given his name a celebrity in Indian history, which his conduct had not merited. His treachery to the Rohillas, whom he sacrificed for the most sordid purposes; his prostitution of vice-regal power, in return for presents,

bribes, &c. from native princes and princesses; his duplicity to all, his deception practised upon the authorities at home, and his tools and emissaries whenever it suited his purpose; his heartless cruelty to native victims, and relentless and malignant hostility to all who opposed his caprices or plundering extortions; would, if severally detailed, exhibit as odious a character as ever bore rule among the worst princes of Asia. When he ceased to be governor-general, his successor found his difficulties to be such as arose consequent upon "the close of a *ruinous* war; the *relaxed* habits (bad government) which had left all their armies in *arrear* and their presidencies in *disorder*." The first *nobleman* who succeeded him was the Marquess Cornwallis, appointed in 1786, who sailed on his return for England in 1793. He was a second time invested with the authority of governor-general in 1805, but lived only to fulfil its duties in India for three months. He died at Gazeepore, near Benares, on the 5th of October, 1805. His virtue and patriotism were unsullied; his character for dignified simplicity, soundness of understanding, and strength of judgment, were only equalled by his integrity as a governor, his zeal for the consolidation of the British empire in Hindostan, and for the equitable administration of law among the people. He has been accused of breaking faith with Tippoo; but his desire, as generally exhibited, was to treat the native princes with justice and kindness. His financial and judicial systems, though

far from what a settled country requires, were well intended; in many respects more comprehensive and beneficial, and a great improvement upon former plans. Sir John Shore was his successor, and ranked among British nobles as Lord Teignmouth. He had been a civil servant of the Company, and by assiduity, moderation, and respectable talents, had commended himself to the Directors at home. It was expected he would maintain—it was not desired to extend—the possessions of England; that he would improve the details of the revenue, and render a more profitable return to the Company's stock. He cherished a pacific disposition, and his government refused to interfere between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and incurred the condemnation of such as desired to strengthen British supremacy. The period of his administration, they asserted, did not add to the strength, or improve the security of their Indian dominions, but placed them in a situation of comparative danger. He resigned his dignified office, and returned to England in 1798. But he was subsequently far more extensively known and beloved as the long, faithful, and useful president of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Lord Mornington (the Marquess Wellesley) was called to the supreme government of India, and entered upon his office 26th of April, 1792. On the 20th of August, 1805, he sailed for England; his successor having arrived at Fort William. His administration was the *beau ideal* of vigour, ambition, and supremacy. He rooted out the French influence;

whenever it was in danger, as was apprehended, of resuscitation, among the native courts. He annihilated the Mohammedan power in the Mysore; new modelled the government of Upper India; opened diplomatic intercourse between the British eastern empire and Persia, reducing the strength of the princes Holkar, Scindia, and Bhonslah; he shook the power of the Mahrattas, and rendered the Nabob of the Carnatic the pensioned puppet of the Company: in whom was henceforth vested the whole civil and military government of the nabobship. He extended the British empire, and by an accumulation of Indian debt, oppressed the Company with pecuniary difficulties. Lord Wellesley was regarded by many as an ambitious and very expensive ruler; the greater part of whose administration had been a scene of war and conquest. Mr. Malthus, however, called him "the greatest governor-general India ever saw," and dwelt with especial approbation on his measures for elevating the character and qualification of the Company's civil servants in the establishment of Fort William College: as a proof of the necessity of which, the Marquess had defined the new duties of these functionaries. "To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain order in one of the most populous regions of the world;—these are now the

duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company." The college, however, which he reared with so much care, was first reduced, and has ultimately been abolished. The marquess has been lauded by other panegyrists. Sir John Malcolm, confidentially and publicly employed by him, celebrated his virtues in the highest eulogy. "His great mind," he affirmed, "pervaded the whole empire, and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed; his authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India as in Fort William; all sought his praise; all dreaded his censure;" those whom he employed "were urged to exertion by every motive that can stimulate a good or proud mind to action. He was as eager to applaud as he was reluctant to condemn. It was the habit of his mind to be slow in council, but rapid in action," &c. Sir George Barlow, a Company's civilian, held the place of governor-general till Lord Minto was appointed, who ruled from July 1807, till October 1813. There was either less to conquer, or less disposition on the part of government, during his administration, for war; or, otherwise, the native rulers, requiring to recruit their resources and consolidate their power, were indisposed for hostile aggressions; for Lord Minto is not numbered among the great conquerors or *brilliant* rulers. It was more his policy to follow in the course intended to have been pursued by Cornwallis. There were internal changes, if not reforms, which seemed requisite in the military as

well as civil department of the Company. The army was disorganized in the Madras as well as Bengal presidency: European officers and native sepoys were insubordinate and discontented. The mutiny at Vellore had not been more alarming than was the disaffection of the Company's officers, when it was deemed expedient to supply the ranks of several native battalions with officers for command from the king's troops. Such matters required the attention of Lord Minto. In 1811, however, he planned and accomplished most successfully, the conquest of Java, and all the other Dutch colonies. The eastern Archipelago was thus brought under the control of Lord Minto, giving a great accession of territory, in addition to the *desideratum* of an abundant revenue. He first reduced the Mauritius and the other French islands, and then established an English provisional government at Batavia, under Sir Stamford Raffles. Commerce had been less a matter of concern, yet it was now beginning to force itself into notice, and to demand a share of influence and attention. In the year in which his vice-royalty expired, a modification of the Company's Charter was conceded to the wishes of the English nation. Merchants who would trade freely, and missionaries who would preach the gospel to the poor *heathen,* had been hitherto excluded from British India, and those who returned were subject to banishment. But by the new charter, a license was secured to both trade and religion, and a new era dawned upon India.

The Marquess Hastings became governor-general of India in October 1813, and sustained that dignity till January 1823. His administration subdued the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, the Pindarries of Central India, and broke up the Mahratta confederacy, which had been again revived, and was now threatening the revenue and even security of many British provinces in India. The Ghoorkas were the followers of Ameer Sing, a brave chief and warlike leader of savage hordes, who held possession of the beautiful valley of Nepaul, not far distant from the gigantic Himalayas. The Pindarries were a predatory band of mounted plunderers, and had their origin in Malwa; their cavalry amounted sometimes to 30,000, and their marauding excursions were often extended to the heart of British India, and occasionally to the vicinity of Calcutta and Madras. The Pindarry and the Mahratta war were the events which most signalized the government of the Marquess Hastings. His patronage of place and official distinction was peculiarly auspicious to *Scottish* aspirants: "Louden's bonnie woods and braes" were not forgotten in the widest plains or loftiest mountains of India. The liberty of the press acquired, under his measures, a powerful impetus, and such an accession of power as ultimately insured its triumph. The *bar of public* opinion was reared in India by the generous, frank, and liberal *courtesy* of the Marquess Hastings, and missionary enterprise acquired accelerated progress. Religious liberty was recognised and maintained, and the

heralds of the Cross were welcomed from every land. The successor of the Marquess Hastings, appointed from home, was Lord Amherst, who arrived in August 1823, and left in April 1828. During the time of his continuance in India, the Burmese war, the destruction of Bhurtpore, a remaining native fortress, thirty miles from Agra, and a mutiny of native troops at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, occurred. Lord Amherst was not popular; he travelled much in India; visited many native courts; received many presents; was supposed to be exceedingly economical, and to have accumulated money, which he was said to require; and retired, being regarded as an unimportant man. The Burmese war was begun without preparation; was carried on without a commissariat; was disastrous in the loss of troops,—who were first famished, and then while diseased were left in swampy and inhospitable regions; was expensive, and produced no advantages to the empire. The addition of territory which followed, might flatter the pride and soothe feelings of wounded vanity; but it will be long ere it yield increase to the coffers of the revenue. Lord Amherst was often overruled, it is said, in council deliberations; but there was exhibited, during his administration, a most unconstitutional and persecuting hostility to the liberty of the press, and nothing was done to prevent the Suttees or immolations of Hindoo widows.

Another, a better, and a greater man followed

him. Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras almost twenty years before, arrived in Calcutta as governor-general, in July 1828. His administration for nearly nine years was a time of peace; conquest or subjugation formed no ingredient of his policy. Improvement in the economy of government; the cultivation of the native mind by schools, improved literature, the use and extension of the English language; the abolition of corporal punishment among the native soldiery; the suppression of female sacrifices, in Suttees and other modes of immolation; enlarged liberty to the press; a fostering care and active patronage of benevolent, literary, and christian efforts to exalt the people; the rejection of much of the pomp and glitter which had surrounded the oriental viceroyalty; and an unostentatious observance of religion; proved that the governor-general was "*honest William Bentinck*" still:—the eulogium of the eloquent Canning. The sufferings of injured man shared his sympathy; the measures of freedom and philanthropy enjoyed his cooperation; he testified to the safety and utility of free intercourse between Hindoos and British colonists, to the beneficent operation of unrestricted commerce, and free discussion by the press or the forum; and, during his administration, India was opened to all the sons of Britain, her markets and ports to all merchants, and her fields and rivers to the enterprise of emigrating colonists, to trade and manu-

facture. Lord William Bentinck returned to Britain, a citizen and a friend of liberty, an advocate of freedom, a benefactor of India, and a patron of whatever will improve her people, enlighten their minds, or add to their enjoyments as men and immortal beings. Death has closed his career; but has not defaced his laurels! His successor, Lord Auckland, will do well if he follow in the path which a Bentinck marked out.

It would seem an oversight were the mention of some other names omitted. Illustrious and honoured men are not wanting among the servants of the Company, who attained eminence in the higher, though not the highest places of trust and power; and whose signal services and success were the more worthy of commemoration, since, in almost every case, these gentlemen had distinguished themselves as emerging from obscurity, and rising from among the humbler ranks of society. Sir John Malcolm was the son of a Scottish clergyman in Dumfriesshire, and went out to India so early in life, that, as a youth, he found pleasure in the amusements of Hindoo children; and, by such intercourse, acquired a fluency in their language, and an intimacy with their manners, ideas, and predilections. In the character of envoy to Persia, he sustained a distinguished reputation as a diplomatist. As the British resident at Mysore, he was the confidential agent of the Marquess Wellesley, in his plans for arranging and governing that country after the fall of Tippoo. He finally ob-

tained the high office of governor of the Bombay presidency. The numerous instructive and elaborate works, illustrative of the state of India, which he produced, will remain a more honourable and enduring memorial of his assiduity, talent, and research, than all his military achievements and titular honours. Sir Thomas Monro, Bart. was the son of a Glasgow clothier, who had failed in business, and was unable to support his son in a counting-house. As a cadet, on his way to India, we find him in London, wearing "a false tail, exactly the size and shape of a farthing candle," an ornament which he kept long afterwards. He had for many years to contend against poverty, while struggling to maintain his rank, and live within the limits of his pay: he made himself the companion and fellow-sufferer in all his campaigns with the native soldier. His rank as a major-general in the Company's service was acquired after long, painful, and self-denying service; but his fame as a statesman was discerned by Canning, and established by his far-seeing and politic settlement of Canara, where he so long officiated as the Company's agent, with all the power of a political chief. A higher tribute still was rendered by the willing homage of the peasantry in that province, whenever he passed through their country. Perhaps few military conquerors ever stood so high among the people whom they had subdued. The elevation of Sir T. Monro to the situation of governor of Madras afforded him farther opportunity for displaying his

sagacity and exercising his intuitive knowledge of the Hindoos, for improving their government and extending among them the benefits which he thought suited to their state. Had Sir Thomas Monro not been the governor of Madras when Lord Amherst conducted the Burmese war, another issue, disastrous and dishonourable, would have followed. He died in the country where he had seen so many fall, and left a name in the peninsula which will be long held in grateful remembrance.

Sir Stamford Raffles was born at sea, and having lived the wandering life of a sailor, he became a clerk in a subordinate department of the India House, Leadenhall-street; was then appointed an assistant secretary at an establishment which was to be formed at Pulo Penang; from which, almost as by a leap, he attained the exalted office of lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies. His easy acquisition of languages, and intimate knowledge of the customs, manners, and feelings of the people; his good faith, public spirit, matchless temper, catholic liberality, correspondence with able men, and fidelity in the duties of his trust; secured him a high place among the benefactors of Asia. Sir John Macdonald, whose father was the occupant of a small property in the Highlands called Kinnier, was one of the most zealous and singularly gifted of the Company's servants. His works on Persia display his talent and research; his employment as political agent in Malwa, and his occupation in

the mission of Sir John Malcolm, were but steps to his preparation for, and appointment as, resident at Ispahan. Sir Charles Metcalf passed through every gradation of the Company's service, till he attained the government of Upper India, and finally became the temporary successor of Lord W. Bentinck. His administration proved how competent he was for the duties of an enlightened and liberal governor of India itself. To him is due the credit of breaking every shackle or hindrance of a free press in Hindostan, and giving full scope to the native and colonial mind of India. Monstuart Elphinstone, though of noble lineage, was at first one of the Company's subordinate, but faithful and honoured servants. His visit to Caubul, and management of native princes; his protracted and successful career as a civilian; his lengthened and popular government of Bombay and its dependencies; his singular and extensive knowledge of all matters connected with India, accompanied by a simplicity almost child-like, a perception of character almost intuitive, and a liberal and frank generosity and confidence towards the natives, which endeared him to all who held intercourse with him or were subject to his government, mark out Mr. Elphinstone as fit for any subsequent employment which will give scope to the most profound and intellectual powers, the most philosophical and enlightened mind.

We have glanced over this wide and chequered field of enterprise and conquest rather that we may

be familiar with the events and characters by whose influence and operation India has been opened for the missionary and the philanthropist, than for our own gratification, or the indulgence of passions which delight in carnage, or to contemplate the spoils which ambition and revenge pursue. We have read the achievements and conquests of warriors; we have seen some of the honours and distinctions which the children of this world distribute among their favourites, or bestow upon their chiefs and heroes. Power is sweet, and applause is soothing to the candidate for fame; but what profit is there in all these things to an immortal soul—to one who must give account of his ways? What title or possession, what plaudit or deed of renown, can the dying man give in exchange for his soul? What gay trophy, what laurel wreath, will deck the tomb, withstand the withering blast of death, or outlast the triumphs and encroachments of corruption? Will the inscription upon the marble mausoleum of greatness, of titled honours, or a nation's applause, give life to the sordid dust which lies beneath, or convey to the once proud and ambitious heart—one thrill of pleasure, one emotion of joy? Will the remembrance of these deeds, and their consequent renown, afford peace to the conscious, but disembodied spirit, whether in the presence of God, or exiled from his throne, add to the joys of an eternal heaven, mitigate the horrors of endless woe, or come up in the judgment of the Almighty Ruler as a palliation of crime, as a justi-

fication of the soul, a meritorious claim for divine favour, a matter of reward, and an occasion of rejoicing in the regions of bliss? Let them be contrasted with the labours and sufferings, the rewards and glory, of the servants of Christ, who have fought the good fight, who have kept the faith, who have finished their course, and for whom was reserved the crown which fadeth not away; let the world, by triumphs of conquering and warrior heroes, be compared with the extension of Messiah's kingdom, prayed for and accomplished by apostles and evangelists, by missionaries and martyrs, and how will the glory which excelleth shine forth! how will the honour which cometh from God only exceed in glory! how will the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give, prove its lustre and immortality! They shall be named the Priests of the Lord, they shall be called the Ministers of our God; they shall eat the riches of the nations, and in their glory shall they boast themselves. Their glory shall be proclaimed by Him, whose voice is as the sound of many waters; they shall sit under the smiles of Him whose countenance is as the sun, shining in his strength. To them will be fulfilled the abundant promises of their exalted King, who has said, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from

my God; and I will write upon him my new name." "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power." They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; they that turn many to righteousness as the stars; and, as the righteous, they shall shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father, for ever and ever. Thus shall christian servants enter into the joy of their Lord!



MOHABAURUT EN SHOBA

THE EXPLAINING OF THE TEXT AND COMMENTARIES OF THE MOHABARUT BY A BRAHMIN

MYTHOLOGY OF INDIA DISPLAYED:—THE SYSTEMS OF THE BRAHMIN, THE JAIN, AND THE BUDDHIST.

THE character of a people is not always easily discriminated, and the theme becomes almost boundless, when it embraces the nations spread over the wide surface of continental India. For though the Hindoo race inhabit the whole of Hindostan, the varied tribes are not less diversified than are the distinct branches of the elder Scythian family now

scattered over the continent of Europe; it would, therefore, be no less indiscriminate to hold up the Gentoo as an exemplification or model of the whole Indian community, than it would be to denominate the Italians the representatives of every European nation. It is true that the religion of Brahminism possesses sway in the principal seats of commerce and of population throughout British India, and religion is the general modeller of human character. But the unity is a name rather than a reality, and that which is prevalent is susceptible of shades as varying as are the changes of colour. A glaring discrepancy and source of diversity, if not also of division, are visible in the objects selected for male and female partiality and devout adoration. While Brahmins celebrate their licentious and midnight orgies before the goddess Kalee, or the males of another caste adorn themselves with gross representations of sensual pleasure, and render the homage of their passions to the emblematic lingam, which in a silver casket is suspended upon their bosom, and exposed to the view of all, the Indian women embrace Krishna (an eighth incarnation of Vishnu) as the darling god of their affections, and hymn his praise in strains of amorous delight, some of which are far from being inoffensive by their indelicacy, and prohibit our transcription. A specimen, the least objectionable, will suffice to exhibit whether their worship has any claim to devotion or spirituality: "With a garland of wild flowers, descending even to the yellow mantle that girds

his azure limbs," these are the words of their divine song, "distinguished by smiling cheeks, and earrings that sparkle as he plays, Heri exults in the assemblies of amorous damsels, of whom, one presses him to her heaving bosom, while she warbles with exquisite melody; another, affected by the glance of his eye, stands meditating on the lotos of his face; a third, on pretence of whispering a secret into his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle, and draws him toward her, pointing to the bower on the banks of the Yamunæ, where elegant vanjulas interweave their branches. He applauds another who dances in the sportive circle, while her bracelets ring as she beats time with her palms."

The theory of Brahminism itself affords scope for schism and distraction. There are three great gods, distinct not in name merely, but in essence. They have each their respective worshippers; and while the followers of Mahadeva (Seva) contend for the preeminency with the votaries of Vishnu, the Buddhist, who adores, according to the Brahmins, the ninth Avatar of Vishnu, has been reluctantly, and perhaps with difficulty, constrained to give place to the domination of proud and supercilious Brahmins. Boodh, or Sakya Singh, who first taught the religion of the ninth Avatar, has various names, and is ranked as the last Buddha. He is represented as the son of Suddhodona, or Siddown, the prince of Bahar, or king of Oude. His mother, Maia, was delivered of him in an extraordinary

way. At his birth, there shone forth a wonderful light; the earth trembled, and the water of the Ganges rose and fell in a most ominous manner. The very hour he was born he walked seven steps, and discoursed with an eloquence which ravished the hearts of his hearers!! The astrologers foretold, that after twenty years and seven days he would become a monarch; but that, despising the world, he would prefer retirement, and introduce a new religion. In the order, and precisely at the time predicted by the astrologers, it came to pass. All this is related with gravity by the devout Buddhist; who adds, that he turned his mind from the affairs of the world, and made choice of a life of retirement. His followers believe that, by means of his good actions, he gained perfect knowledge, and at length arrived at the state of *muckut:* (absorption into the nature of the Supreme Being). They reckon it about 3,200 years since his birth, and that he died at the age of 120 years. Cushan-rish-Athaim, king of Aram, may have been his contemporary. They affirm he had the gift of prophecy, and could change the course of nature. He had visited Benares, in which, and in the adjacent cities, are laid the scenes of his mythological adventures. Rajgird, and several other fine temples, are enumerated as his places of retreat. He then travelled to Cashmere, where he made many proselytes: he also gained for his followers people of Hind, of the sea-ports of Thibet, and Khatai. He made extensive inroads upon the sect of the Jains, and diminished their numbers, as

they were known by the denomination *Arhats.* His religious system was embraced as the national faith in adjacent countries. It was established in Bootan as well as Thibet. Its influence in Tartary is still commensurate with the extension of letters and civilized life. . The people of Ava, Pegu, and Siam, adopted its doctrines. The Tartar sovereigns of China introduced, as the royal religion of the celestial empire, the dogmas of Buddha, whom they term Fo. The island of Japan contains thirty millions of its votaries, who have received its rites probably through Tartary. The Cingalese of Ceylon have, by a great majority, refused the Vedas, and bowed to Buddhism. When the religion of the Brahmins finally triumphed over the Jains and Buddhists in Continental India, and drove those votaries from the fair and fertile regions which had been the cradle of their ancient superstitions, the latter found, for a season, an asylum in neighbouring countries: but from Sind, Candahar, Bahar, Bengal, and the Deckan, their last seats in India, they have been long ago expelled. Rising in the eastern provinces, and traversing northern India, they passed on from the north to the south, till they reached Cape Comorin. It may have been, however, that the waters divided, and half of them turned towards the east and north, while the western and southern streams were impelled by the force of Brahminical persecution. The track which they still occupy stretches due eastward from the most southern point of India—from Ceylon across the Bay of

Bengal, through Pegu, Burmah, China, Tartary, Thibet, and Siberia. In the regions of Cashmere a few straggling votaries, and the ruins of ancient temples, serve only to indicate that Buddhism *once* prevailed there. Among the nations with whom the votaries of Boodh found an asylum, the Huns are expressly mentioned. Their name occurs in Bahar inscriptions, and is repeatedly found amongst other barbarian tribes enumerated in the prophetical chapter annexed to some of the Puranas. It would be a singular fact in history, could it be ascertained, that the bands of Attila, who laid waste the plains of Italy, were the followers of Boodh. The learned among the Persians and Arabians call the priests of this religion Bakshee, and in Thibet they are styled Lama. The meaning of *Budh*, in Sanscrit philology, is "to know;" whence it is said the Saxon and English verbs, *bodian, bode, forbode*, &c., are derived.

Although Brahminism be the more general appellation by which religion is known throughout the peninsula of India, and its mythology be more specifically the prevalent theory: the higher elements of which are expressed in elaborate and mystical terms indeed, exhibiting, however, far more obscurity than profoundness; the reign of this priesthood continues to be not unfrequently disputed, and their authority is often deemed not incontrovertible. Besides many pretenders to ghostly and divine commission, the Jains have long been as thorns in their eyes, and vinegar to their teeth. It is recorded of

this sect, that in a central part of India, and at a recent period of their history, they endured most vexatious persecutions from the intolerance of the Brahmins, and the prevalence of the Beydantee religion. The hatred and malignity of these priests excited a conspiracy among them to invade the sanctuary, and alienate the very altars of the Jain worshippers at Oojien; they even resisted the local authorities, contemned the menaces of government, and the personal interposition of the reigning prince. My military chronicler has furnished a narrative of this disgraceful and violent transaction; and as it illustrates both the character of the one sect, and the conduct of the other, I shall here introduce the story.

It is not many years ago that the Jains built a handsome temple at Oojien. A jattee or priest of high character arrived from Guzerat, to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity (Parswanath). The morning fixed for this purpose had come, the ceremony had commenced, and Jains had filled the temple, expecting the arrival of their idol god, when a Brahmin appeared, conveying an oval stone from the river Sepra, which he proclaimed the emblem of Mahadeva. A concourse of Gossiens and other Brahmins, armed with bludgeons and other missiles, joined him, and soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple. Mahadeva's rude symbol was placed in the niche prepared for the Jain god, amid the shouts of Brahmins and other

Hindoos, and proclaimed as the overthrower of Jains—the omnipotent Mahadeva. An application to the governor of the city was made by the discomfited party; but the aggressive tribes were secure in their power and influence, and defied his interference on a point of this nature. Reference was made to Dowlut Row Scindiah, but his authority was treated with no greater respect; and though the fear of seeing Oojien deserted, and the prospect of distress both there and at Gualior (for in both places the Jains had suspended all business and closed their shops), led that Mahratta chieftain to use every means to obtain redress for the violent outrage and insult they had suffered; his applications, threats and influence, were alike derided. A fear of proceeding to extremities in a case of religion, constrained him to rest satisfied with only a partial reparation; he himself remunerated in part the expense the Jains had incurred; while the sufferers were obliged, by their comparative smallness of number and peaceable habits, to content themselves with this partial redress, and to endure the additional mortification of seeing the building which they had erected, become the most popular temple of Hindoo worship in all Oojien: from the manner in which the occupation of it had been obtained.

The adherents of the Jain faith have yielded to the overwhelming force of a more sanguinary and less tolerant sect, and their fugitive progress may be traced through Continental India by their sacred

edifices, generally in ruin. They have left these scattered over the peninsula, as numerous fragments of their devotion and free-will offerings. At Woone, in the province of Malwa, many vestiges of Jain temples remain. The number is said to have amounted to ninety-nine in early times; but the ruins of more than twenty temples may still be distinctly traced, and some in tolerable preservation. The kingdom of Curnata, the central elevated region of the peninsula, was governed by rulers, who held the creed of the Jains, till the twelfth century. One of the most perfect remains of their antiquity is seen in a venerable pile of architecture, called the Jain temple at Kurcal, which is now desolated by Brahminical influence. This town is placed on the Malabar coast, in the ancient kingdom of Tulava, and is distant about ten leagues from Mangalore. At Billicull, or Belligolla, in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, once the residence of their high-priest, a gigantic image of Gomat-Iswara-Swami stands as one of their idol representations; the foot of the image is nine feet in length, and the entire statue is more than fifty feet high. There is a much nearer approximation in sentiment, or their doctrines of belief, between the Jains and Buddhists, than between either of them and the Brahminical system: yet the civil and social life of the Jains, in their four castes, distinguished from each other by privileges and manners, more nearly resembles the other Hindoos than the Buddhists. It would not be from the

Brahmins, therefore, that we could derive impartial information of the Jains; nor *vice versâ:* for as an imperial author declares, "though from the most remote times down to the days of his own reign, the learning and wisdom of Hindostan were confined to the Brahmins and the followers of Jain, nevertheless, (and we presume it is too true of all religious polemics,) ignorant of each other's merits, they have a mutual aversion. Kishen, whom the Brahmins worship as a god, the Jains abhor as an infernal slave; while the Brahmins carry their hostility so far as to say, that it is better to encounter a mad elephant, or a furious lion, than to meet a man of the Jain sect. Yet the Jains are a peace-loving people; they hate whatever destroys life. They are scrupulous, to the strictest degree, in avoiding whatever will cause the death of any living thing, even the minutest insect. To guard against the danger of guilt on this matter, (for they have no ceremony whose efficacy they reckon so great as to relieve the soul from the burden of such a trespass,) the more conscientious will not eat after sunset; they have always a small broom to sweep the ground before them; and they never drink water until it is strained through a cloth. They consider it unlawful for a widow to marry again; but they discountenance the barbarian practice, so prevalent among other Hindoos, of sacrificing herself with the body of her deceased husband.

The more opulent members of this sect find it convenient, in their persecuted condition, to seem

to belong to the orthodox persuasion. Conformity is an easier matter with them than it was with the Buddhists, so far as the distinction of castes had an influence. They are as merchants still found dispersed over the whole continent of India, but it is only in the central and western parts of the peninsula they are sufficiently numerous to constitute a distinct population. Their proper designation is *Arhats,* from Arhat, to *be revered;* because thus they distinguish the objects which they worship. They are an ingenuous, simple, and mild people, in their social intercourse, and in their transactions with others. They have been sought after by some of the most devoted missionaries in the peninsula. Mr. Rhenius, late of Palamcottah, made several excursions among them while he lived at Madras. Numbers of them reside at Arnee, in the vicinity of Arcot, where they maintain the reputation of a mild, unsuspecting, and plain-thinking people, much disliked by the Brahmins, whom they never acknowledge.*

* During the last two years they have been repeatedly visited by a young and zealous missionary, raised up in India, whose career I rejoice to witness so marked by piety and devotedness. Few events have afforded me more sincere pleasure than his dedication of life and substance to the cause of missions. I knew him when a boy, and when his thoughts, wishes, and dispositions gave little indication of his present activity in gospel labours. He says he is "intimate with a few of the most influential among the Jains, and he has often felt peculiar gratification in conversing with them; they frankly concede to almost every doctrine, and the *only* stumbling-block" (I fear there are *many* more) "in their

The generous desire of the imperial Jilaleddeen Mohammed Akber, for establishing truth, induced him to illumine the world by the light of his researches, for the diffusion of universal peace and harmony; he sought to dispel the darkness of delusion by his literary labours, for he desired that men of different persuasions might quit the narrow paths of prejudice, to associate together. Through the liberality and intellectual exertions of the son of Hemaioon, the favourite dogmas of the Brahmins were represented under the appellation of the Beydant science. His writings remain one of the few monuments which possess an established title to any literary antiquity. It was toward the close

way at present, is the practice common among Europeans, of killing and dressing animals for food. They are so tenacious about this that they repeatedly strain water before it is used. Nevertheless it is a matter of fact, for it is a feeling that has been often heard and expressed, that a strong conviction rests on their minds, that Christianity will ultimately become the prevailing religion." A few months ago a Jain priest visited a small christian flock at Arnee, and sent repeated messages to the teacher to beg a conference with him. The christian teacher embraced the opportunity to provide a collection of choice tracts and portions of the sacred Scripture. The Jain priest desired nothing more; he wished to examine them for himself. Various hindrances raised up by caste and superstition were overcome, and the interview afforded mutual satisfaction. The christian teacher maintained the honour of God's word. A wooden bench was placed before the Jain priest by his disciples, on which, when wiped and covered with a cloth, the books were placed. The priest took them up with apparent veneration, thanked the teacher for the gift, and returned next day to his own district.—Abridged from a letter written by the *Rev. J. Bilderbeck, Chittoor.*

of the sixteenth century, that this studious prince gave to the world, chiefly in the older Persian style, his Institutes, or summary of all he knew in the religion, laws, and usages of the many myriads who bowed to his sceptre in Hindostan. He was the sixth in succession from Tamerlane (our Indian Timur), and was generally esteemed a wise and tolerant prince. Nor are the vestiges yet to be met in India of his munificence and power, few or deficient in sovereign splendour. His writings are those rather of an observing philosopher, than of a polemical partizan. He was a follower of the crescent.

The following narrative will, perhaps, not be found in its present phraseology among the oriental records which are extant; its claims to credibility are, however, not less valid than many other eastern tales.*—'The provinces of many rajahs, and the conquests of numerous kings, had submitted to the dominion of the imperial prince Akber. In him benignity was generously blended with the varied and numerous virtues of a royal heart, as well as the discernment of a philosophical mind. His breast was the seat of an ardent desire for intellectual distinction and attainment; literary ambition inspired his soul, and religious inquiry urged forward his studious pursuits. He had long felt

* The names and incidents only are imaginary: the scenery of the country, the character of the people, and the religious opinions of the hostile sects are, from authentic documents, truly delineated.

that the diversity of language which prevails had served to produce misapprehension, and occasioned strife; and that remoteness of situation had prevented the confidential intercourse which is necessary to secure a reciprocal acquaintance with the various philosophic doctrines, and the deep sciences of distant nations. And though he had exerted himself and his imperial influence to assemble the learned of all nations, who might aid each other in their researches after truth, yet he continued unable to satisfy himself; and complained that the musnud must be filled by such a monarch as Nursheervan, who amidst the splendour of royalty sought, almost in vain, after the jewel of wisdom; until, by the hand of his vizier, the unenvious Buzerchemehr, he found out Puzruyah the philosopher, and sent him into Hindostan, under the disguise of a merchant. The industry of this celebrated man when absent was as great as when present; so that, after various indefatigable exertions and laborious researches, he acquired possession of the stores of knowledge. The son of Hemaioon observed with grief, and was perplexed when he saw the subjection of men to their external senses, and the indolence of mankind, their habit of imitation, and the jealous reserve which prevents a candid communication between persons of different persuasions. Such causes had prevented the voluntary conference of two or three disputants to discuss the tenets of their respective creeds, and ascertain the principles on which they are founded, and

how far their derivation may be traced to the same source.

'He had also perceived with shame and vexation, that even monarchs, deeming such an investigation unimportant, had either treated the inquiry with indifference, or, actuated by the pride and conceit of sectaries, had prohibited free controversy and public instruction. A regard for self-preservation, therefore, induced men either to be silent, or to express themselves in obscure language, or appear to conform to the fashion of the times. The monarch's example is a law to all, and thus every sect becomes infatuated with its particular doctrines; animosity and disunion prevail, and each man, concluding the tenets of his sect to be the dictates of truth itself, aims at the destruction of all others, vilifies reputation, stains the earth with blood, and has the vanity to imagine he is thereby performing meritorious actions. If the voice of reason were attended to, mankind would be sensible of their folly, and lament the weakness which misled them to interfere in the concerns of each other. Persecution, after all, defeats its own ends; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them.' Such were the sage and ingenuous reflections of his majesty Jilaleddeen Mohammed, when the cares of his durbar, or the discussions of the divan, permitted him to withdraw from the musnud for the retirement of the harem. But practically he was as sound in his philosophy as he was judicious and liberal in his theory.

'The third time that the author followed the imperial stirrup to the delightful territory of Cashmere, he met some old men who were learned in the Beydant, some who were conversant with the doctrines of Boodh, and some who had imbibed the principles of Jun—advocates of the Brahminical, the Buddhist, and the Jain systems. It was an occasion too gratifying to the burning thirst of his majesty after knowledge, and his desire to illumine the world with universal peace and unanimity, to be misimproved or allowed to escape. Akber enjoyed boundless delight in entertaining with princely splendour these philosophers—the sons of light—that by their discussions the darkness of error might be dispelled; and that the mists of selfishness being exhaled, the beautiful scenes and flowers of paradise might be beheld, and their odoriferous fragrance breathed by men of different names, who should then be induced to abandon the narrow path of prejudice, and associate together under the broad light of the genial and all-encircling sun.

'Musjid-baugh was a delightful valley, which spread to the right and left, and whose horizon was bounded by distant mountains, down the rugged sides of which a hundred sparkling rills poured their silvery waters to fill a pellucid and silent lake, that lay embosomed, and was fringed by the softest scenery. Here the servants of Jilaleddeen stretched the cords of his imperial tent; and here, exalted high, waved the glittering crescent. The beauty of the falling streams, on which the bright

sun shone, and over which the light and azure vault was suspended, and their successive cascades, which rolled from hills covered with luxuriant vines; the crystal lake itself, whose clear bosom reflected not only the shadow of the overhanging mountains, but also the tributary streams; the rich fields beneath its *bund*, or on the broad margin, and the roses, hyacinths, and almost every species of flower growing in unpruned luxury on its borders, fitted it as a Laul-baug for majesty itself, and was suitable for the purposes of the emperor. Here the nemmed of royal distinction was spread out upon the rich carpet of majesty: under a splendid canopy, adorned with oriental magnificence, was placed a temporary musnud, or throne; and seated on this, the conqueror of India held his durbar or court; and as the pageants of his train, princes, chiefs, and officers of state, bowed around his feet, the respective suite of each;—a motley group fell back to the rear.

'Gorgeous was the display, as the court of Akber, a king of kings, ought to be. On his right hand and on his left were stationed, as huzuriahs, or servants of the presence, nabobs, princes of Mohammedan states, who had become his subsidiaries; rajahs, princes of the Hindoo race, who had been subdued, and rendered tributary to his throne; omrahs, noblemen of Mohammedan family, and heads of tribes; khans also, the brave warriors of his army, whose gallantry had been ennobled on the field of blood and battle, each clothed in the

dignified attire of their station: behind him were arranged, according to their rank, the viziers of his divan; the dewanee, or chief of his ministers; his karbareyan, the counsellors of state; his dufturdars and chitnavese, the financiers and scribes, or secretaries of his government; with the principal vakeels, the messengers of his court, who might also be despatched as his temporary envoys to other courts. Nor was the khasjee-walah, his lord high steward of the household, absent from the place of his trust; while such of his soubahdars as could be withdrawn from the government of their provinces, mingled with the sirdars, general officers in command of his troops, and his bukshe, the paymaster of his army; accompanied by killahdars, zemindars, thakoors, potails, wuttumdars, and chobdars;—the commanders of contiguous fortresses, the collectors of revenue, and hereditary lords of the surrounding soil, the village magistrates, chief and subordinate, by hereditary right and royal appointment, his mace-bearers, and royal constabulary force; and though last, yet not least in their own esteem, the shaikh ul islam, the cadi, the mujtahids, the muftis and moullahs;—the expounders, judges, and administrators of justice. The priests and lawyers of the Mohammedan court were placed in the theatre of discussion, not as umpires—bigotry and blind zeal incapacitated them for such an office—but that the religion of the prince and his court might be respected in its representatives—the hierarchy and public functionaries who had followed the camp.

'The war-horse and his prancings were hushed; the glittering spear and brandished sword were laid aside; the helmet and scymitar were ungirt; the warrior ceased from his toils, and the camp, all but the habiliments, assumed the air and quietness of the studious assembly. Poets, historians, astrologers, wits, and reciters of stories and fables, who had acquired eminence, were introduced and honoured. But these were not destined to be the principal performers in this august scene. The grey-haired Brahmin, the revered Jatti, and the representative of Shakmunee, were called upon, each to declare before the prince and his retinue, now waiting in solemn and expectant audience, for the sentiments of their several religions. "Behold," said the king to his favourite Abul Fazel, "behold the Brahmin stand forth, proud of his knowledge of the Vedu, and vain of his descent from Brahma, with a countenance which tells the subtilty of his mind, and the presumption and ambitious aspirings of his soul. The upper part of his body is naked, showing a clean yellow-coloured skin; his loins are clothed in a large pale salmon-coloured garment, untouched by the scissors or needle; his head is bare and shaven, except a few thick falling locks clubbing behind; his forehead ornamented with the ashes of cow-dung, in red, yellow, and white stripes, the emblem of his peculiar worship, while his sacred zenaar or twisted thread, is drawn over his shoulder, distinctive of his boasted caste. Look now at the Jatti, the proficient in the

doctrine of the Jains; he has never, (at least such are his pretensions since he assumed the religious order of his sect,) he has never gone within the hearing of a female voice; he has not eaten flesh, fruits, nor sweetmeats; nor has he dressed any food; his drink has been confined to warm water; he never eats nor drinks in the night; he never lights a lamp, nor any fire in his house; whatever has fallen from his hand he has never taken up again. The demureness of his countenance indicates the restriction under which he has laid himself, never to cherish a jocular turn, nor commit what he considers a mean or idle action; he carries his wardrobe with him, more than which, in summer he never uses, a shirt, a blanket, and a square piece of cloth of about two feet; this last he makes into four folds, and when he speaks, applies to his mouth, that no insect may enter it. In the winter he has an additional sheet; he holds in his hand a *dehrimdigh*, which is a broom made of woollen threads, or woollen cloth fixed in a wooden handle; he carries this instrument, that with it he may softly sweep the ground before he sits down, lest he should kill any insect. You perceive by the posture of his body, the severities which he has practised; his arms have been stretched down on both sides, and the body kept free from motion, while the head has been frequently reclined upon the breast for several hours together. Such were the austerities inflicted upon him, in conformity with the injunction of his (peer) spiritual guide;

that he would eat sparingly, and at appointed times only; that he abstained from eating ghee, milk, curds, sesame oil, and sweetmeats, nor would he ask food at more than five places; and in order completely to reduce the body, he covered himself with sand in the heat of the sun; his awkward, unseemly, and squalid appearance, will not be reckoned unaccountable, after this statement of the causes which have operated to modify his form.

'Now, observe the contrast which is presented in the appearance of that third person, a priest of Boodh, and the first, his successful rival. In the latter you might perceive the deep subtlety of deceit, the cool deliberation of a selfish expediency, and the obsequious compliance of a fawning parasite; but in the profession of the Buddhist, the avowed sources of good or personal enjoyment consist in knowledge, disinterestedness, and reciprocal pleasure in the success of others. The things which he has held meritorious, have developed themselves in his character, and are displayed in his pursuits. His theory has influenced his conduct, and modified even his external appearance. He has come short of, rather than infringed upon, the standard of excellence. You perceive in his manner the command which he exerts over himself, the control under which he has brought the powers of his mind, the self-denial with which he is familiar, his dignity and independence of relative character, and the elevated course in which his thoughts are directed. He seems to be what he professes. Six

things he esteems to be highly meritorious: subduing anger; improving the understanding; bestowing money in charity; studying theology; boldly asserting one's own rights, and continually contemplating the Deity. No trembling step—no smile of sycophancy—no pretended sanctity—no badge of voluntary suffering is here; a muscular and energetic frame is the tabernacle of an independent and vigorous mind. His only distinction consists in a shaven head, and a garment of leather and red cloth. His ceremonial purifications are observed by frequent ablutions, but he is not so particular as to his diet. His principle is not to refuse whatever is offered to him, but to receive all as the gift of God; even the creatures which die of themselves, he believes have been killed of God for his service, and therefore he eats them: though he would deem it cruelly profane and sacrilegious to kill any animal, or root up, or cut any plant, for he imagines they possess vitality, and are susceptible of enjoyment. He has adhered to a state of celibacy, and believes that God has never been defiled by incarnation; and that he is so infinitely above, and so perfectly removed from any terrestrial or sublunary transactions, as to consider it beneath him to create the universe or control its affairs; while the world itself is such a self-existent and uncontrolled agent, that it has neither beginning nor end; that it vanishes, and then appears in its original form time after time. He is not perplexed by the existence of moral evil; he finds the origin of evil as well as of good in eleven things, viz. the five

senses, his faculties, and *mun*—the abstraction of intelligence." Such then is our Buddhist, and such are the authorities to whom we shall listen for a development of the religions of Hindostan.

'It was an imposing and appalling eminence these three were required to sustain, and to a religious zealot, it would appear a proud day. Had they been summoned upon this arena, that they might gain proselytes to their cause, it would have gratified the fondest devotion; but it was a philosophical enquiry concerning religion, to gratify the curiosity, and to extend the literary and general knowledge of the studious Akber. It was not to soothe a distracted mind, nor deliver a conscience ill at ease from its disquietudes. As one of the faithful, Akber was too confident in the divinity of the prophet's mission, and in the inspiration of the Koran. He feared no competition of the Indian idolatry with the simpler faith of Mecca, and the revelations claimed by Mohammed. Fixing, therefore, upon Narain Roy, Braminee, to propound the mysteries of his faith, and addressing him with affability and courtesy, the emperor encouraged him to state explicitly the dogmas of his religion, and assured him, that a patient ear should listen to his exposition, and an impartial hand should weigh the value of his words. The worshipper of Brahma stepped forward, and doing obeisance toward the royal presence, he gravely informed his majesty, that every one is not fit to be instructed in the Beydant; that it would be sacrilegious in any but Brahmins to

listen to the sacred words of the Vedà; that it would be worse than profanation, for any other eye to peruse the holy page; and that every one is not capable of comprehending the sublime theology which it contained. "He who seeks," says Narain, "this knowledge, must be able to distinguish what is eternal from what is created—must despise the world—study with intensity—must not be disturbed at not finding the non-existing comprehensions—must disregard joy and sorrow—must daily increase in the contemplation of the muckut, (absorption into the deity.) But at the command of your highness, with reverence, I venture to declare, that excepting the deity nothing exists—the universe being only an appearance without reality: just as a man in a dream sees imaginary objects, and in that state experiences ideal pleasure and pain. So that life is nothing but a dream, there being only resplendent light, which assumes different appearances. In our theology the work of abstraction, metaphysical and abstruse, has been carried to perfection; and those who hate our gods, charge us as indulging in the excess of subtlety, till it is rendered practically destitute of moral influence; but this refinement we consider a proof of its high origin, an emanation from the divinity, and a source of muckut to the devotee. Our supreme deity is Brimmah, the sole bestower of justice. Omniscience, omnipresence, and inertia are the fountain of his essence. He is without beginning and without end. Omniscience is an

abstraction which we call Geeyan, endued with independent powers; its external operations are also an abstraction called Maia; and when the divine essence unites with Maia, it becomes manifest, and is called Issur; when Issur unites with Raj, (the fountain of desire, another abstraction,) it is called Brumha, the creator; when it unites with Sut, (a second abstraction, the fountain of virtue,) it is denominated Vishnu, the preserver; and when it forms a union with Tum, (a further abstraction, the fountain of anger,) it is styled Maha-deva, the destroyer. Many of our learned men believe that the deity manifested himself under the form of a woman, called Maha-letchmeen, from whom proceeded the three attributes, Sut, Raj, and Tum. When she willed the creation of the world, Maha-letchmeen united herself with Tum, and produced Maha-kalee, a form sometimes spoken of as Maha-maia. After this, Maha-letchmeen produced Brumha, under the form of a man, and Sree, under the form of a woman. Then from Maha-kalee issued Maha-deva, under the form of a man, and Teeree, under the form of a woman. Maha-letchmeen joined herself with Sut, and another form, called Sirsotee, appeared; and from Sirsotee issued Vishnu, under the form of a man, and Gowree, under the form of a woman. Maha-letchmeen willed the union of these three bisexual productions, from whose cooperation all creation proceeded in heaven and earth. The lower creation commenced from the sun; this luminary is a repre-

sentation of God. Brumha formed a hollow sphere of gold, composed of two parts, to which he imparted a ray of his own light, and it became the sun; from this glorious fountain emanated the twelve celestial signs, and from them the four Vedas derived their origin. Then were created the moon, the akass or ether, the air, fire, and earth. Hearing in man is produced from the akass, touch from air, sight from fire, taste from water, and smell from earth. These five senses are occasioned by the power of Sut, and are called Gayeen Indree, or knowing senses. The Brahmin is the representative of Brumha, and is the sole possessor of wisdom on earth; none can be so wise as he is, therefore he is warranted to entertain a sovereign contempt of all the pretended sciences, arts, and new discoveries, which other teachers attempt to communicate; but I cannot allow that he is justly charged with a disregard of justice, so as to have no feeling of mercy or pity for even the most miserable of the poor and dependant." Such, then, is Narain Brahminee's confession of faith.

'Aruhujine was now invited to give a summary of the sentiments peculiar to the Jains, and informed that he had as full liberty to express his opinions as had been indulged to the Brahmin. He was further encouraged with the assurance, that impartiality would render a patient ear to his sentiments, and he proceeded: "We do not pretend to a unity of sentiment which excludes variety; yet our diversity possesses a relative correspondence in all its parts.

We are sensible of human ignorance, and on the doctrine of a deity would be silent, confining our opinions to sensible actions; but the ignorance and malice of the world attribute our silence to a denial of the existence of a Supreme Being. We believe there is only one God, who is incorporeal, neither begetting nor begotten, and free from all the defects belonging to human nature, whom we call Nirgoon-pirmeysir; and to him we ascribe analytic and synthetic knowledge, omnipotence and total rest. We do not, indeed, believe that Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, are emanations of the Deity; though they may have been human beings who attained perfection through their righteousness. We do not receive the Vedas as our guides, and do not worship the great objects of Brahminical veneration. That which can be the object of the senses we believe, but doubt the existence of any creatures superior to man, though men have been raised, by their merits, to the rank of divinities; and to some of our ancient saints and priests, as to Gomat Iswara, we ascribe the highest conceivable attributes. It has been said by our enemies, that our opinions concerning the origin of the world are hostile to the honour of God; but, while we believe that the component parts of the universe existed from all eternity, to God we give the glory of forming the universe from the one substance of which all the elements are composed. He, the true uncompounded Spirit, is the preserver of all. He created a body, into which he entered; this body is

Brumha; and in the manner in which a human body acts, from its union with the soul, so does the body of Brumha act, from its relation to the deity: the holiness of the deity is not hereby defiled. We do not believe that the whole universe will suffer dissolution; but of everything, some part will be left, whence creation will be renovated. It is our conviction that man is a free agent, for whom are reserved rewards and punishments: but there is a subtle essence in which knowledge resides and illumines the body, in the same manner as a lamp enlightens a house; and this knowledge has the power of doing good or evil. Though we do not believe in the avatars (incarnations) of the deity, we think men, for their virtuous conduct, may become omniscient; and whatever such men say, on the subject of religion or legislation, should be considered as the word of God: we reckon twenty-four such, whom we call Saka-pirmeysir. Our acts of merit are all displayed in religious penance and voluntary humiliation, in abstaining from any indulgence which would cause the death of any creature, and in the worship of our Swamies, and implicit obedience to our spiritual guides. We have three orders of Yatis (ascetics). The first, called *anuvrata*, can be attained only by him who forsakes his family, entirely cuts off his hair, holds always in his hand a bundle of peacock's feathers and an earthen pot, and wears only clothes of a tawny colour. The second, *mahavrata*, requires that all dress should be abandoned, except so much as will

cover nakedness, and that the hair should be, not shaven, but pulled out by the roots. The third, *nirvana*, throws aside all covering, and remains entirely naked, eats nothing but rice, and that only once in two days. The name of such a one is almost synonymous with deity, and he is rewarded with the veneration due to priests, rajahs, and images. He that would enjoy absorption into the deity, must endure many hardships; besides nakedness and abstinence, must cover himself with sand in the heat of the sun, act as a menial to those who inflict austerities upon themselves, study with attention the great books, drawing up the arms and legs, reclining the head upon the breast, and sitting thus for hours in a state of abstraction. There are in this earth fifteen grand divisions, and between its creation and dissolution are comprised twelve universal monarchs; nine with only half their power, and nine with but a fourth. The dominions of a chuckerwurt (a universal monarch) consist of thirty-two thousand kingdoms, with sway over thirty-two monarchs. He has also eight millions four hundred thousand elephants, and the like number of cavalry and chariots, together with four thousand viziers: Thus, O Jileleddeen, mighty prince, your power is excelled, even as the sun, and the many lamps of the glorious heavens surpass the dim lights of your palace; and his retinue exceeds yours, displayed as it is now, even as the many waves of the boundless ocean transcend the gentle ripples of that peaceful lake. For he has ninety-two

millions of infantry, eight millions four hundred thousand philosophers, three hundred thousand cowrburdars, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand handmaids; besides possessing sixteen thousand mines of precious stones, nineteen thousand gold mines, and one hundred and twenty thousand mines of other metals; and within his empire are sixteen thousand nations of mileetch, and sixteen capital cities; and, to complete the account, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks, three hundred and sixty of whom are for his own particular use. In the present cycle, the first chuckerwurt was rajah Bhirt, the son of Adnaut, some of whose family, in reward for their virtuous conduct, are now enjoying paradise. Besides the earth inhabited by mankind, we expect a higher and happier state. It is a very extensive country, at the distance of forty-eight coss (a measure of three miles) above the uppermost region; its lustre resembles the bright reflections of the richest crystal; its breadth and length cannot be compared by any measurement known among men; the people clothe themselves with the leaves of trees, and feed upon wild fruits, and the earth is there very sweet. They are handsome and well-behaved; their stature is from one to three coss; their lives extend to a great and unaccountable length: the man who has not led a perfectly virtuous life in this world, but has bestowed charity, will receive the reward thereof in the territory now

described. In a region still more elevated and glorious, is the holy habitation of muckut, where men assume luminous forms, and are absorbed in the deity. To this happy consummation we devoutly aspire; but we know that muckut cannot be obtained without an union of knowledge and good works; the necessary connexion of these we have been taught by the following apologue; hear it, O prince, and may you be wise. Fire fell upon a house, in which dwelt a blind man and a cripple, neither of whom could escape without the help of the other; therefore, the blind man took the cripple upon his back, to avail himself of his eyes, and in return gave the cripple the use of his legs; thus, by mutual assistance, they both got out in safety. These, great king, are all the peculiarities of our religion which we desire to be made known. May your sun never go down till you shall enter into muckut."

' His majesty now invited Yokaja, the disciple of Boodh, to make known the theory of his doctrines. " Declining to enter into the more abstruse parts of our system, or to dispute the statements already made, Yokaja, the slave of your illustrious crown, begs to inform you, that the worshippers of Godama are divided into four tribes: the Webhakekh, who admit the existence of knowledge and things; the Sootranitk, who consider all things to be only the imagination or pictures of the senses; the Iookaja, who believe that nothing exists but knowledge, things being only the various forms thereof;

and the Medheemuck, who call knowledge, as well as things, *sun*, or a cypher, and who never argue upon their existence or non-existence. I believe that knowledge has two causes:—whatever is obtained by means of the senses, and whatever is gained by proofs. But we seek practice rather than theory; and the duties which we hold as indispensable towards obtaining the state of muckut, are plain and profitable:—bestowing charity, abstaining from evil, such as killing, molesting, stealing, uncleanness, lying, speaking ill of the good, seeking what is unprofitable, bad inclinations, and associating with those of a different religion. It is also of sacred obligation:—that the Buddhist entertain respect for his *peer*, or spiritual guide, implicitly believing his words; that he venerate the idols; that he be not elated by praise, nor depressed by reproach; that he frequent the chietee, or temples, and place no more than a proper value upon the things of the world—striving to obtain yug, a complete victory over the passions; which also involves the acquisition of so much power, that on whatever object the heart is set, it does not wander, and implies a state wherein all desires of the heart cease, and it begins to have some knowledge. And thus the heart, confining itself to one contemplation, arrives at perfection by degrees, and conceives an ideal form of the divinity; and when greater progress is acquired, this imaginary form disappears from the mind, and nothing remains but the contemplation of his essence. On no other

subject should the heart dwell while we are called upon to waste the mind and body by suffering austerities, that we may improve in knowledge, and perform those exercises by which muckut is obtained. These are some of our doctrines and duties, sovereign prince; but the personal obligations devolving upon each, will at once appear to the wisdom of your majesty sufficient to preclude any exertion to propagate our sentiments among the religious of other communities. May all pass through yug, and finally obtain muckut; and may the peace and dignity thereof be the distinction of the great emperor of Hindostan!"

'Akber bestowed presents on each of the wise men, according as his judgment decided that which was suited to each character; and he felt thankful to them for the agreeable contribution they had added to his pleasures in the valley of Musjidbaugh; and though he had been taught he was not yet a chuckerwurt, it was a practical lesson; and he thought he could improve by what he perceived, that every man is right in his own eyes, till his neighbour cometh and findeth him out. He was convinced, moreover, that though he had heard the chief representatives of the great tribes who inhabit the East, yet there were many divisions whose peculiarities he could not expect speedily to learn; and he was strengthened in this conclusion when he remembered, that among the Brahmins, who inhabited one province alone of his own dominions, there were not fewer than eighty-

four different sects. To be the primary inhabitants of any particular country, or to have descended from Brahminee emigrants of distant regions, as of Guzerat, Hindostan Proper, Canoje, Oude, Joudpoor, Odeypoor, Jeypoor, Malwa, Malabar, and Bundelcund, is enough to separate them from social intercourse or intermarriage. They boast with as much jealousy of their various appellations, such as Roy, Row, Ram, and Singh, as they would of their superiority to the lower castes. So is it with the Sudra tribes, who are distinguished according to the art, trade, or occupation, which those who belong to them pursue; and are ramified, probably, into not fewer than fifty branches. Each has its different denomination, from the cowherd, the shepherd, the goldsmith, carpenter, tailor, musician, oilman, gardener, weaver, and confectioner, down to the lowest classes of labourers, distillers, ropemakers, dancers, and sweepers. None of the Sudra families will eat or intermarry with the other. They follow the usages and profession of their fathers. Every one, even the barber, the washerman, and sweeper, has his *baht*, or bard, who preserves his genealogy, and gratifies his vanity with the tales of his ancestors. The bard is continually employed among the tribe to which he belongs. His arrival at a village is hailed as a day of festivity; and with the lower classes he settles all matters relating to their intermarriage. Here, then, is wide scope for curious research, and abundant store of amusing incident; but minuter details

would, perhaps, fatigue his beloved Abul Fazel, for whom the author designed this more popular sketch and narration, with a design that it may excite further inquiry. He has set down what occurred upon a review of the whole proceedings, rather than from notes taken on the occasion, therefore they may be thought too loosely, and perhaps, vaguely expressed; yet all has been honestly given, and from no other than the kindest feelings towards the people. And now it may be concluded, that the charbarren, or four principal divisions of the people into Brammin, Khettre, Vaisya, and Sudra castes, supply a very inadequate representation of the distinction and lines of separation which run between the numerous divisions of the Hindoo race. Not only among the Brahmins and Sudras, but even among the outcaste tribes, the ramifications are endless and perplexing, and can only be traced by intimate intercourse, local knowledge, and observation.'

Fitful and changing is the tide of public opinion; and varying almost as the successive waves, are the representations of man by his fellow-man, or of one nation by another. Men look upon different scenes with different optics; and the lights and shadows of national character fluctuate with constant rapidity. When a little is known, the surface only is perceived; when more knowledge is acquired, it is proved how deceptive are first appearances. It is not many years ago, that the virtues and the national features of the Hindoo character were lauded

almost to extravagance, till the particulars of their panegyric were summed up in the phrase, "the innocent Hindoos!" The authors of the encomiums had generally been sojourners in their land; and, it might have been supposed, were intimately conversant with the varied shades of peculiarity by which they are distinguished. They declared themselves too, with a tone of authority which would bespeak unquestionable truth, and with a boldness of assertion which seemed warranted only by personal examination and conviction. The object only, of their efforts, threw a character of dubiety over their testimony; and this, as discovered in their hostility to the progress of an evangelizing church, and their opposition to missionary efforts, served as a key to the motives by which they were actuated. They desired to prove that the Hindoos, as they required not, so they could not derive any amelioration from the diffusion of gospel-truth throughout the land. It perhaps was not their design, but it would certainly have been the tendency of their communication to delude. Perhaps they were deceived: they had certainly formed a very low standard of innocency; and they greatly misjudged the purpose and the efficiency of the gospel. Their misapprehensions and erroneous representations, however, were exposed and justly reprobated by the eloquent and forcible, because faithful statements, of Mr. Charles Grant, Dr. C. Buchanan, and Mr. Tytler; and more recently by the historian of British India.

Certain latitudinarians will avow it as a sound axiom, that it matters not what a man's creed is, if his life be good; that therefore men should not be perplexed with the dogmas of a new faith. Practice, say they, is the point of last importance; but as one passes through the shifting scenes of life, it will be learned as much from observation as authority, that sound practice will only proceed from pure principles; and that when principles are erroneous, the conduct will be objectionable too. We have presented a brief summary of Hindoo systems; the creed of the Brahmin, the tenets of the Jains, and the dogmas of the Buddhists, were adduced without argument or controversy. A supplement may not be unacceptable, which shall develop what the practical influence of their doctrinal principles is upon life and character. History, if honestly narrated, would present a broad speculum for the examination of the inquirer; and if its faithful details were perused, there would be no complaint of ignorance. Biography, again, like the framed mirror, exhibits the miniature form in natural habiliments, and renders the beholder familiar with the less prominent features of character, and the modes of social intercourse. But transient sketches, and local details, with the casual incident, supply even the listless reader with scenes and recollections on which a wandering memory and a fugitive imagination may find a resting-place, and food for thought, when pursuing the rapid survey of a wide world.

When anticipating a much longer sojourn among the people of strange lands than I have yet enjoyed, often would I picture to myself the habits and character of the nation among whom I might reside; and gladly did I embrace the hour when circumstances brought me into contact with one who had visited these distant regions, and mingled with the people. If I could hear a few sounds of their language, and learn a few traits of their character, and if my informant could add,—I was there, and witnessed these scenes,—I felt a species of momentary enlargement, a temporary superiority to all who had not been favoured with such an interview, and almost fancied myself familiar with the distant people, and able to conform myself to their intercourse. But these impressions were evanescent, and my knowledge came short of the reality: then, again, would recur the desire of seeing and judging for myself. Now I am among them, I can listen to their own tales, and read, with the scenes around me, the facts of their history, and the character of the people. To me they possess a charm which imagination could ill supply; and they call forth an interest unequalled by the influence of a well-told tale. And could I transplant my reader, without his suspicion of the fanciful illusion, to the purely native circle by which I am surrounded:—the Indian bazaar; the shroff's doucan, or banker's office; the sable, effeminate, and turbaned figures of Hindoo society; and could he understand the bold and fluent Hindostanee which the Hindoo

soldier speaks, he would soon distinguish the sources of oriental licentiousness, and how unprincipled is the Hindoo in conduct and character.

In nothing is the general want of principle more evident, than in the total disregard to truth which they show: no rank or order among them can be exempted from the implication. The religious teachers set the example, and they are scrupulously followed by all classes. Perjury and fraud are as common as is a suit at law; with protestations of equal sincerity will a witness stand forth who knows the falsehood of his testimony, and he who is ignorant of what he professes to testify. No oath can secure the truth; the waters of the Ganges, as they cannot wash away the filth of lying and deceit, so they cannot preserve the court of law from being the scene of gross and impious contradiction. No task is so difficult as is his who would elicit truth from the mouth of a witness. Venality and corruption are universal; they are remarkable, too, for their ingratitude. Ameer Khan is an instance of modern date, whose history will exhibit the Hindoo character. Habits of intimacy with the military circle, afford facilities for acquiring such information; nor is it uninstructive to trace the vicissitudes of his life, and the final rank of "his excellency."

Ameer was a soldier of fortune, had taken up arms, careless whom he served, or if he served any one besides himself. With ten adherents, he entered the service of a Zemindar, and passed as a hireling from the employment of one master to another,

till he was entertained as a leader of six horse and sixty footmen, by the dewan, or secretary of a subordinate chief: renouncing his service, he joined the plundering bands of a marauding party, who now subsisted upon the fields they had once cultivated. Having distinguished himself in one of the first actions of his new associates, he was elevated to the command of five hundred men, and receiving a palanquin, he became a personage of some importance. His further advancement among the confederacy was obstructed by the issue of an almost fatal contest, in which he was so severely wounded by stones, that he lay three months before he could move to any distance. This suspension of his progress led to his junction with a Mahratta chief, who was able to invest him with the command of fifteen hundred men, and confide to him the care of an important fortress. Here, again, the reverses of mercenary war proved the juncture of his richest prosperity; for henceforth he became associated with the fortunes of an aspirant, whose princely connexion and successful enterprises were crowned with a diadem and rewarded by a musnud. This alliance with Juswunt Row was first that of equality, owing to the reverses of his family, but it gradually subsided to that of prince and dependant. Now Ameer became the general of his own troops; but such troops! they were banditti, and lived upon rapine; they laid waste the most fertile districts, destroyed the most populous cities, and spoiled the palaces

of the great and the treasures of the wealthy. The leader of this predatory horde was ennobled by his royal confederate, and Ameer Khan was saluted by his master as a nabob, in which capacity he received a magnificent present—an elephant, a horse, a rich dress, and jewels. He conducted his followers into Bundelcund, and visited Saugor. A witness and companion in this expedition related the story to the soldier from whom I received my information: the army came down upon this ancient city as a flight of locusts; and, as under these destructive insects all herbage speedily disappears from the country on which they alight, so the fruits of human industry vanished from the region where the Patans and Afghans planted their standard. During nearly a month they carried on the work of ruinous devastation, and rendered the once famous city a scene of promiscuous and unrestrained pillage. Saugor was set on fire during the day of onset and storm, and the raging flames in one quarter or another continued while the plunderers remained. A few hundred inhabitants only were killed, but all were ruined; no property was spared: the tanks were searched, the wells were explored, and every place of temporary concealment was ransacked; soldier and chief were mingled as one confused rabble, and indiscriminate rapine was the object of each follower of the camp. If the leader attempted to enforce subordination, insolent disobedience was the return: they derided him with his former low condition;

they tauntingly asked if he had forgotten by whom he had acquired his greatness, and warned him how he provoked their resentment, which could hurl him in a moment to his original insignificance. Every species of insult and torture was inflicted on both male and female inhabitants of this devoted city. If the Afghan soldiers caught a Brahmin or Hindoo of high caste, they proceeded to feel his head, and examine the skin with great care, and if they discovered a softness and delicacy, they judged he had been leading a luxurious life, and not one of labour; and according to the result of their inspection, they adopted ulterior measures to make the most of their captive. Once the Khan ventured to repress their outrages, or limit their excessive depredations, and he became the object of their hasty passion; and not only was he seized, beat, and bruised, but almost strangled with his own turban fastened about his neck.

Yet when the harvest of their excesses had been consumed, and they again required to be led to new spoil, they submitted. From his alliance with Juswunt Row, whose connexion with the musnud secured him an influence, and from his supposed ascendency over his own Patan hordes and warlike adventurers, his aid was often implored, and his interference frequently became most arbitrary and decisive; while he many times sowed the disunion and distraction, from which afterward he reaped the pillage and plunder—the resources for subsistence to his mutinous followers. In a few years his

presence, and the excesses of his troops, brought Joudpoor to the lowest state of poverty and political weakness. The minister of the principality, and the spiritual guide of the hereditary prince, determined to clear the country of its destroyers. Ameer Khan was desired to depart; he promised that his compliance should be delayed only to the previous settlement of his pecuniary claims. His demands were met according to the exigencies of the state, and a promising prospect appeared of a favourable arrangement. The Patan chieftain had left the town; a few only of his troops remained, under pretext of enforcing payments still due. These had incarcerated Induraj, the minister, and brought on a warlike affray, in which the priest, attendant upon the prince, and the minister were slain; and though Ameer Khan protested his innocence, there was deemed sufficient reason to conclude that it was perpetrated with his knowledge, and perhaps by his directions. The prince, Maun Singh, seemed so confounded and alarmed at this proceeding, especially the murder of his gooroo, that he instantly affected the habit of a religious recluse, whose mind was abstracted from all worldly concerns. He spoke to no person, allowed his beard to grow, and soon had the appearance of one who, though he continued to exist, was dead to all the cares, and incapable of excitement by the interests of life. After he had sustained for some time this character, his son undertook the duties of government, and swayed its power till his own death,

when the father, recovering from his devotional and hypocritical insanity, reascended the throne, secure in the alliance of the British government. Ameer Khan is now in the receipt of a yearly revenue of 150,000*l.*, is recognised as the princely head of a consolidated government; and having sheathed his sword, he sways the sceptre as an ally of the British power, the present reward of successful, but hazardous adventure and political profligacy.

The climate of the country, the debased standard of morals, the corruptions of the human heart, and the violations of decency of which Hindoos are daily witnesses, even in their religious ceremonies, have conspired to render them impure to the grossest degree. Domestic affection can scarcely be said to exist among them. They are severe and tyrannical to their women; and instead of gentleness and modesty in the females, fidelity to their husbands, attachment to their children, and care of their education, with love of family, comfort, and peace, I find them ill-tempered, quarrelsome, regardless of their reputation, displaying extreme carelessness about the moral improvement of their offspring, ever living amongst domestic quarrels and broils, and jealous of their husbands, though devoid of affection for them. Men of any caste may assume the air of a devotee, as well as perform the functions of priest, or gooroo, when they have established their celebrity among the people. But the most grievous delusions are practised to impose upon the ignorant, and obtain a religious ascen-

dency. This success is sought both among males and females, and obtained only in too many cases. Although they profess to follow a life of celibacy, and pretend to strict fidelity to their vows, they are licentious, and give a free indulgence to inordinate passions. Tulsah Bhye was the daughter of a gooroo, whose vow of celibacy threw a mystery over her parentage; she was introduced as his niece. Adjeebah was a priest of one of the modern sects which sprung up in Southern India; he had obtained such credit and local influence in one of the towns in Central India, that the favourites of princes and their dependants became his proselytes and disciples, and elected him as their holy father. A professed mendicant, he became rich by the favour of his disciple, Hureka; and while advancing the boldest pretensions to sanctity, he was the slave of worldly ambition; he resided at Mhysir, and was allowed a palanquin, horses, and numerous attendants. His daughter, Tulsah, was introduced as a member of his family, and the wife of one of his followers. Her beauty was admired by the suite of the devout princess; their praises excited the curiosity of the reigning prince, and she soon found herself the most beloved and powerful concubine of his harem, and saw her husband, first the inhabitant of a prison, then the mercenary abject, who, being released from his bondage, and sent to his home, accepted liberty, a horse, a dress, and a paltry sum of money, at the intercession, and in lieu of his wife. Henceforth she maintained a sove-

reignty over the prince's affections, and her authority in his household was so completely established, that she acquired supreme influence and direction in all public affairs, and secured to herself the seat of regent, when a diseased mind had rendered him unfit for the government. Her connexion with the priest had, besides abetting her relative influence, given her qualifications which Hindoo women rarely possess; she had acquired the ability to read and write. Such have been the vicissitudes of the children of the East, that she who, from a descent so dishonourable, the child of a mean and low impostor, had become the concubine of a successful plunderer, (for such was Juswunt Row,) was raised to sit in the Durbar; and, holding her daily court, swayed the sceptre of a numerous people, and ruled the almost lawless leaders of military hordes. Seated behind the curtain, she communicated with her ministers and officers by means of her confidante Menah Bhye, another more aged disciple of the devotee Adjeebah.

The eventful and varied fortune of this female would serve as the basis of a voluminous tragedy; her story would seem more the dream of fiction than the narrative of a personal adventure; and could we follow its labyrinths and developments, we should see what is woman, even at her best estate, in India. She had her moments of terror, under which a mind of ordinary calibre might have sunk, but fear only quickened her ingenuity, and gave activity to the efforts of her friends. Once

she was conducted by some, who could ill brook her ascendency, to the centre of a densely-wooded forest; the design required little penetration to discover it. But, as in the days of knight-errantry, or of the achievements of the knights of the Tower and Sword, her rescue was boldly planned and effected. A Mahratta, chief of the household troops, advanced almost single-handed to the lurking-place of the daring conspirators, and held the party in indecision, till he was joined by a force sufficient to liberate the captive; and now the work of retaliation was prompt, and the energy of revenge awfully precipitate. The imprisoned leaders of the conspiracy were brought to the tent of Tulsah, and by her sole directions, were thence conveyed in a *garry*, or cart, to the place of execution. Her enemies succeeded in setting her again in perilous circumstances; her residence was a citadel, which they surrounded by hostile bands; but the adventurous bravery of a Mahratta soldier postponed her doom. Jotteebah Naick, commander of the household guards, was a favourite of Tulsah Bhye, and his fidelity was accompanied by a critical display of his gallantry. The instant he learned the peril of his mistress, he hastened from the camp to the town with two hundred men, scaled the wall, and reached without opposition the outer gates of the citadel; a company of the mutineers guarded this entrance; his movement took them by surprise, and he attacked them with such fury, that they were all either killed or wounded. How slender is the thread by

which the fatal sword may be suspended, and how apparently fortuitous are the events which avert destruction! When Jotteebah entered, Tulsah was sitting with a dagger, ready to plunge it into the heart of the child, Mulhar Row, the precarious tenure by which she possessed her authority. The clouds of adversity began to gather and lower over her wayward path, and soon she experienced that the sun of her prosperity had gone down. A few faint gleams indeed burst forth, ere total darkness and gloom overwhelmed her, but they were lurid and portentous. Her power and her money flew from her, nor could they delay an hour of ignominious wretchedness; she had so alienated all at last, that not a voice was raised, and not a foot stirred, to save a woman who had never shown mercy to others. She was taken from her palanquin, on the Sepra banks, where her head was severed from her body, and the latter thrown into the river, being denied even the common rites of a Hindoo funeral. It has rarely happened to woman, since the primeval curse, that she has enjoyed the advantage of a proper estimate of her character. Placed generally in a condition of great, of almost abject inferiority, her rights trodden upon, and her influence not duly appreciated, she, who was made to be a help meet for man, has been driven as his slave, or fondled as the weak object of sentimental passion. And only seldom has she occupied the dignity of a rational intelligence, breathed the freedom of an equal relationship, or engaged in the pursuits of

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intellectual society. The mythology of India binds with fetters of iron-slavery the doom of womanhood to degradation and misery. The orgies of its temples, and prerogatives of its priesthood require, that she should minister to lust, drag out a life of debasement and crime, and perish in the midst of cruel burnings and suicidal guilt. Under the benign influence of Christianity alone, and more especially in the community where its holy principles have become most paramount, has woman moved in her own element, and proved an honour and a blessing to her kindred and her race.

END OF VOL. I.

RICHARD CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON.


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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016